This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

UC-NRLF
$B 51 888

H. Morse Stephens.

University of California

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF THE LATE

NANA FURNUWEES

COMPILED FROM

FAMILY RECORDS AND EXTANT WORKS,

WITH

Several Illustrations copied on Stone from Original Pictures by Native Artists.

AND DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO

VISCOUNTESS FALKLAND.

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

BY A. MACDONALD,

CAPT. 18TH REGIMENT, BOMBAY NATIVE INFANTRY.

BOMBAY:
AMERICAN MISSION PRESS,
T. GRAHAM, PRINTER.

1851.

DS470
N3M3

HENRY MORSE STEPHENS

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

PREFACE TO THE LIFE

OF

NANA FURNUWEES.

CAPTAIN S. V. HART, the Secretary to the Deccan Vernacular Society, having suggested to me that a Memoir of the late Nana Furnuwees would prove of considerable interest to all interested in Indian History, and that if translated into the Vernacular of the Country, it would be eagerly read by the Mahrattas who look upon him, and not without reason, as the last and greatest statesman of their race, I was induced to employ my leisure hours in the compilation of the accompanying work (with what success I leave the reader to judge) from original manuscripts and family records of the late minister, from verbose conversations with many of his relations and personal attendants, and partly from Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas and other Indian authorities.

On a late visit to Manowelly, I had the pleasure of an interview with the widow of Nana, who though of an advanced age appears to have the perfect use of her faculties.

Two well executed Oil Paintings, evidently by the hand of a clever artist, the one of Nana Furnuwees himself, and the other of his ill fated Sovereign and pupil, Mahdoo Rao Peishwah, were shown to us, and engrav-

512735

ings therefrom are attached to this work: I regret however that we were unable to discover the name of the artist, nor could the family give any information on the subject.

Nana's country-house at Manowelly is situated in a most picturesque and beautiful spot on the banks of the Kistna, about two miles from the far-famed Brahmin town of Wahy the residence of the Rastia family, and about twenty miles distant from Sattara, the same from the Mahabuleshwar Hills, and about 150 from Poona, and to those who are fond of the picturesque, it will repay the trouble of a visit. The house was originally strongly fortified, but on Nana's imprisonment the place was dismantled, and the ghauts which now surround the place were constructed from the materials. Vast sums of money must have been expended on these works; in front of one of the temples is suspended a very large Portuguese bell, bearing date 1,706 with a Latin inscription in relief round it "Laudate Dominum Cymbilis bene Sanctibus," and a figure of the Virgin and child also in relief.

On enquiry I found that this bell had been plundered from one of the Portuguese settlements (probably Bassein) during the Mahratta war, and brought to his village by Nana Furnuwees.

In the appendix many original letters and documents will be found, as well as extracts from the Duke of Wellington's despatches relating to the subject of this Memoir, when his Grace was in charge of the political affairs of the Deccan.

My task is ended, a critic will doubtless find many defects, but I trust allowance will be made for the work as the production of the leisure hours of a soldier, who writes under many disadvantages unknown to the

practical author. It will also I hope be borne in mind, that the work was written throughout with a view to translation into Mahratta, this may account for some peculiarities of style which might have been avoided in a work written exclusively for an English public.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

	Copies.
The Right Hon'ble Lord Falkland	20
Lady Falkland.	10
Sir Willoughby Cotton, G.C.B.	2
Sir Erskine Perry	6
General Auchmuty	1
Hon'ble J. P. Willoughby	5
Col. Outram, Resident, Baroda	3
Brigadier Farrell.	2
Sir Henry Pottinger, G. C. B.	1
H. B. E. Frere, Esq. Commissioner, Scinde	2
Col. Holland, Qr. Master Genl.	1
E. H. Townsend, Esq. Revenue Commissioner	5
Cursetjee Jamsetjee, Esq	5
Brigadier Wyllie	1
A. Shaw, Esq. C. S	1
Lieut. Col. J. E. G. Morris, 12th Regt.	1
Lieut. J. O'B. Forrest, 12th Regt.	1
Capt. J. B. Woosnam, Artillery	1
Brigadier General James	1
Fred. Glen Harrison, Esq	1
G. Coles, Esq. C. S. Rutnagherry	12
Major Jacob, Scinde Horse	1
Lieut. Merewether	2
EnsignF.P. Mignon, 26th Regt.	1

	Copies.
Lieut. L. M. Davies, 26th Regt.	1
Lt. F. Harvey, 18th Regt.	2
Lieut. C. Cameron, 24th Regt.	2
Lieut. J. H. Champion, 24th Regt.	2
Capt. E.H. Bowdich, 26th Regt.	2
H. Malet, Esq	1
L. Reid, Esq.	1
Poona Collector's Office	5
Col. Stalker, C. B.	2
Rev. W. H. Schwabbe	1
Major J. Tait, C. B.	1
N. Mackintosh, Esq	1
Political Agent Cutch Office	2
Broach Collector's Office	2
Collector of Custom's Office	8
Sattara Commissioner's Office	2
Mr. Cane	2
Police Writer, Belgaum	1
Furdoonjee Hormusjee, Esq.	1
Pestomjee Rustomjee, Esq.	1
Mr. Gooddine, Survey	1
Mr. Gerrard, do.	1
Ragoba Moroba, Esq	1
Qr. Mr. General's Office	4
Bombay Fusiliers	1
3rd Regt. N. I.	1
Lieut. Col. C. S. Stuart, 14th Regt.	1
14th Regt. N. I.	1

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.—*Continued.*

	Copies.
H. M.'s 10th Hussars	1
Major Michael Willoughby	1
Dr. F. S. Arnott	1
Capt. Battye, Assist. Resident.	1
Brigadier W. J. Browne C. B.	1
Col. J. M. Shortt, 6th Regt.	1
Lieut. Steuart, 13th Regt.	1
Lieut. Shortt, 9th Regt. N. I.	1
A. Elphinstone, Esq. C. S.	1
A. Robertson, Esq C. S.	1
Lieut. Aytoun, Artillery	1
Capt. Morris, Bheel Corps	1
Lieut. H.W.B. Bell, Engineers	1
E. C. Jones, Esq. Civil Service.	1
Capt. K. Jopp, 16th Regt.	1
Lieut.R P. Warden, 16th Regt.	1
Lieut. Col. D. J. Duff, 16th Regt.	1
Ensign E. Jones, 16th Regt.	1
W. E. Frere, Esq. C. S.	1
W. J. M. Stewart, Esq.	1
Moonsiff of Dharwar	1
Capt. French	1
Col. Moore, Auditor General	2
Mr. Hamilton, Resident, Indore	10
R. Coxon, Esq.	1
Col. H. V. Brooke, C. B.	1
Col. Parr	1
Col. Blood.	1
Richard Spooner, Esq.	1
Capt. H. Barr	1
Dr. McLennan	1
Capt. J. Willoughby	1
Capt. Skinner	1
Capt. J. Auld, Bheel Agent	1
H. Young, Esq. Collector of Customs.	1
H. W. Reeves, Esq. C. S.	2
C. J. Manson, Esq. C. S.	1
Chapman, Esq. C. S.	1
Lockett, Esq. C. S.	1
Capt. Phayre, Assist. Qr. Mr. General	1
J. Hutt, Esq.	1
H. Hart, Esq. C. S.	2
Lieut. Buckle I. N. Horse	1
Lieut. Hossack, Artillery	1
Lieut. Parr, Assist. Commissioner, Sattara	1
Lieut. and Adjt. Combe, 18th Regt.	1
Lieut. Col. R. Honnor, 4th Rifles.	2
W. Bell, Esq. Collector, Dharwar	1
Capt. Ramsay, Nizam's Service	1
Lieut. Wray, Assist. Qr. Mr. General	1
Rev. G Goodall	1
Ahmednugger Book Club	1
Lieut. Burgess, Survey Dept.	1
Monockjee Cursetjee, Esq.	1
Lieut. Willoughby, 4th Rifles.	1
Capt. Parr, Fort Adjt.	1
J. M. Davis, Esq. C. S.	1
C. Morgan, Esq. C. S.	1
Thos. Cowie, Esq.	2
G. Cowie, Esq.	1
W. B. Tristram, Esq.	2
T. B. Johnstone, C. Surgeon.	1
R. Hardy, C. S.	1
Lionel Ashburner, Esq. C. S.	1
R. Keays, Esq. C. S. Poona.	1
Sirdars of Poona	3
Poona Native Library	1
A. K. Forbes, C. S.	1
Lieut. W. H. Saulez	1
Major LeGrand Jacob	2

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.—*Continued.*

	Copies.		Copies.
Capt. Heath, Pay Master	1	T. Ogilvie, Esq. C. S.	1
Capt. T. R. Morse, Bazar Master.	1	Rao of Cutch	2
Rev. G. L. Fenton	1	J. Flynn, Esq.	1
H. M. 83rd Regt.....	1	M. DeCarvalho, Esq.	1
Ensign R. Johnstone, 18th Regt	1		

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

MEMOIR OF THE LIFE

OF

BALLAJEE JENARDIN BHANNOO

OTHERWISE KNOWN AS

NANA FURNEES OR NANA FURNUWEES.

THE subject of the present memoir first saw the light on Friday the 4th day of May, A. D. 1741, equivalent in the Hindoo Era to the month Jest, Shuk 1663. He was born in the City of Sattara. His father Jenardin Bulhar Bhanoo, at this period, held the hereditary office of Furnuwees (Deputy Auditor and Accountant) under Ballajee Bajee Rao Peishwa. His mother's name was Ruckma Bye of the Mhaindlee family, an ancient and respectable race. Little is known of the early life of Jenardin Bhanoo, and as the family records give no account of him up to his tenth year, we may reasonably conclude that there was nothing worthy of especial remark. At the age of ten years he was married at Poona to Edwardah Bye, the daughter of a respectable merchant by name Sewdasheo Rugonath Gudray. At the early age of twelve years he evinced a strong inclination towards the female sex, which increased with his years. At fourteen years of age he nearly met with his death from a fall from his horse, and was only recovered with the greatest difficulty. He had just

reached his fifteenth year, when his father died, and having performed the usual funeral ceremonies, he was invested with his father's office, and in this narrative will hereafter be known by the name of Nana Furnuwees.*

The Peishwa Ballajee Bajee Rao had conceived a great affection for him, and shortly after his father's death persuaded him to accompany him on a journey to Seringapatam. On his return from this expedition he consummated his marriage, and the result was a son, which however only survived its birth a few months. With the exception of his quick passion for the female sex, which he could not control in any way, he is represented as bearing a character for justness and uprightness. His health having at length become impaired, he repaired to the Banks of the Godavery to perform some religious ceremonies, which seem to have affected him to such a degree, as caused him to resolve to repair to the sacred Ganges with his friend. Sewdasheo Rao Bhow owing to the reverses met by the Mahratta Army at the hands of the Affgans, had obtained permission of his master, the

Family Records.

* Nana was what might be called his nick name; among the Mahrattas a man is seldom known by any other, his proper name being seldom used in any but formal documents.

A Furnuwees is the head civil officer,—a term almost synonymous with that of minister of finance—who receives the accounts of the renters and collectors of revenue. The word is a compound of *ferd navees*, or the writer of sheets, i. e. by implication official documents. It is not only his duty to exhibit schedules of the actual revenue, and to form estimates of probable receipts and expenditure, but also to inspect all accounts of public disbursements of every description, which he regulates, and upon which he is a check; it is his duty to prepare in his office all sunnuds or grants of Jagheers, Enam lands, and Commissions of Officers appointed to any public situation.

Peishwa, to take the field once more, and attempt to drive the invaders back again across the Attock. During the course of their journey they arrived at a famous pool in the Jumna river called Thalia Dohuh or pool of serpents; close to this pool, is an enormous tree called Thulum, the branches of which completely cover the pool; in the Hindoo mythology it is related that Vishnoo in the 8th incarnation of Krishna was in the habit of concealing himself in the tree and seizing hold of the milkwomen who came to bathe, strip them and hide himself again in the tree where they could not reach him.

The natural temper of the Bhow Sahib was exceedingly violent, and at this time his pride was much augmented owing to his great success in former campaigns. A spirit of military enthusiasm, so dangerous in a general without experience, took complete possession of his mind. Success had inspired him with a blind confidence, which salutary reverses in a humbler sphere, would in all probability, have amended. But it is unfortunate that such lessons cannot always reach individuals in high command, until the interests of their country, and the lives of thousands may have been sacrificed to the effects of arrogance and indiscretion.

Grant Duff.

The Deccan army, prepared to accompany Sewdasheo Bhow, amounted to about twenty thousand chosen horse, besides ten thousand artillery and disciplined infantry under the command of Ibrahim Khan Gardee.

The equipment of this army was far more splendid in appearance than any Mahratta force that had ever before taken the field; the camp equipage which had been taken during the former campaign was employed as a part of the decorations on this occasion; the lofty

and spacious tents, lined with silk and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments conspicuous from a long distance; immense party coloured walls of canvass enclosed each suite of tents belonging to the principal officers; vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses magnificently caparisoned, and all those accompaniments of an Indian army, which give such an imposing effect to its appearance, seemed to have been collected from all quarters in the Bhow's camp. Cloth of gold was the dress of the officers; and all seemed to vie in that profuse and gorgeous display, characteristic of wealth lightly acquired. It was in this instance an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the Moghuls in the zenith of their power and glory.

The principal officers with the Bhow's division, were Bulwunt Rao Gunput Mhaindlee, Shumsheer Bahadur, Naroo Shunkur (Raja Bahadur,) Wittul Sewdeo (Vinchoorkur,) Trimbuck Sewdasheo Poorundhuree, with many other chiefs, or connections of old Mahratta families, who are now but secondary personages in the Deccan, owing to the power of the Peishwas, and the consequent ascendancy of the Brahmins. A large army remained with Ballajee Rao, but orders were despatched to all the Mahratta Commanders, to join the standard of Sewdasheo Rao Bhow, as he advanced towards the Moghul Capital. Accordingly before he crossed the Chumbul, Mulhar Rao Holkar, Junkojee Sindia, Dummajee Guicwar, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Appajee Atowlay, Antojee Mankeswur, Govind Punt Boondelay, and many others of less note, had joined with their troops; most of the Rajpoot chieftains sent parties of their horse; vast numbers of Pindarries, and irregulars of all descriptions flocked to the

increasing host, and Sooruj Mull Raja of Bhurtpoor, through the agency of Holkar, was induced to meet the army with thirty thousand men.

The experienced Jath, however, soon perceived that the unwieldly assemblage, clogged with a cumbersome artillery, and suiting their movements to those of an attendant body of infantry, were ill adapted to the purpose of the war. He proposed therefore, that the families and all the heavy equipments should be placed either in Gualior or Jhansee, or under the protection of some of their own forts, whilst the Mahratta horse and his own could cut off the supplies, and by constant skirmishing oblige the Mahomedan force to withdraw, and compel the Abdallees to retreat.

Holkar coincided with this opinion, but Sewdasheo Rao had an aversion to Holkar and the Jaths. He imbibed a prejudice against Sooruj Mull. Common report had spread accounts of wonders preformed by Europeans; Sewdasheo Rao himself had witnessed the effect of French discipline and artillery; he had gained great advantages by the employment of Ibrahim Khan, and he haughtily contemned the only advice that might have ensured success. The Army proceeded to Delhi and attempted the Citadel at once. A party of the Mahrattas clambered up one of the towers and got inside, whilst the main body was assaulting the gateway, and the beseiged busy in defending it; but the Mahrattas, who had made good their entrance without ever thinking of opening the gate to keep possession of the place, began to plunder for some time without interruption, but being at last discovered, the whole body as helpless as an unarmed mob, were driven out by about a dozen men. The assault was therefore deferred, batteries were opened, and in a short time the fort capitulated.

The Bhow on this success, proposed placing Wiswas Rao on the throne and making Shujah-ud-Dowlah his Vizier.

As the Jumna was already unfordable, Sewdasheo Bhow cantoned his army at Delhi; where his innumerable followers consumed every thing in the neighbourhood. All articles of provisions and supplies became scarce, but the first difficulty that appeared to Bhow, was the want of treasure. In this respect however, he was more provident than in others, he brought two crores of Rupees with him from the Deccan and Holkar, Sindia, Govind Punt, Boondelay and the Rajpoots furnished three more; but the prospect of want of funds induced Sewdasheo Rao to seize the gold and silver ornaments of the Imperial Audience Chamber, and to destroy the throne, from all of which he only procured the sum of seventeen lacs of Rupees. Against this procedure both Holkar and Sooruj Mull remonstrated in the strongest manner, as they considered it both impolitic and indecorous, but Sewdasheo Rao treated their opinion with scorn; upon which Sooruj Mull with his whole force quitted the army in disgust, and the Rajpoots at the suggestions of some of their friends in the Mahomedan Camp withdrew from the confederacy. In the meantime Ahmed Shah Abdallee, whose camp was opposite to Ano Shuhur on the Ganges, had through Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah prevailed on Shujah-ud-Dowlah to make common cause with the Mussulmans against the Hindoos; but as Shujah-ud-Dowlah was less inimical to the Mahrattas, than any of the other confederates, Sewdasheo Rao used many endeavours to conciliate or detach him from the alliance, opened a private communication, and also made him the organ of a public negociation, which was carried on for months between

the Mahrattas and Abdallee. Both the public and private intercourse was laid open by Shujah-ud-Dowlah to his allies; and his answers were dictated at their suggestion.

When the violence of the monsoon had abated, Sewdasheo Rao raised Meerza Juwan Bukh, the son of the absent Shah Allum, to the throne of Delhi, and proclaimed Shujah-ud-Dowlah Vizier of the empire, he then left Naroo Shunkur with a garrison in the Citadel and proceeded in person to Thunjpoora, a fortified town strongly garrisoned, which he breached and stormed. Ahmed Shah had been desirous of relieving this post but the Jumna was not yet fordable. He however moved his camp to the bank of the River and continued to amuse the Bhow by negotiation, and after several failures at last discovered a ford, which he crossed twenty miles above Delhi.

A great part of his Army had gained the western bank before Bhow Sahib would give credit to the intelligence, and the whole of the Mahomedans were across by the 25th of October. On the following morning the advanced guards of the two Armies had a severe engagement, and both armies claimed the advantage. Nana Furnuwees was present during the engagement but was uninjured. Many balls fell in that part of the camp where the families were, which frightened them very much, amongst them was Nana Furnuwees's mother, and seeing her tremble, Nana told her to trust in God who would preserve them from all harm. It was the intention of the Mahrattas to renew the engagement on the following day; but Holkar was still anxious to adopt the predatory system and act against their supplies; Ibrahim Khan expostulated against this

Family records by Nana himself.

in the most violent manner; and said it would be abandoning him and his corps to destruction; and that he would turn his guns on the first body of cavalry that followed such an advice. These dissensions were with some difficulty suppressed; and during their continuance the Mahrattas retired skirmishing to Panniput where Sewdasheo Rao, by Ibrahim Khan's advice entrenched himself. He dug a ditch fifty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and raised a rampart on which he mounted guns round both his camp and the village of Panniput. Ahmed Shah likewise encamped with his allies, and fortified himself by placing felled trees round his encampment.

Grant Duff.

The Mahomedan force consisted of forty one thousand, eight hundred horse, thirty eight thousand foot, and about seventy pieces of cannon. These were choice troops, but the irregulars, not mustered, were very numerous and probably amounted to as many more.

The Mahrattas have been reckoned at fifty-five thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, with two hundred pieces of cannon, besides the Pindarries and followers, of whom there are supposed to have been upwards of two hundred thousand souls.

Soon after the armies had taken post, Sewdasheo Rao directed Govind Punt Boondeley to cut off the enemy's supplies, in which for a time he was completely successful; but Attaee Khan sent out for the purpose, having come suddenly upon him when in a mango grove with only about a thousand of his men, the rest being dispersed plundering, attacked and killed him; cut of his head, and presented the acceptable present to the Abdallee King. Previously to the death of Govind Punt, there was a prospect of a treaty being concluded, and the officers of both armies had visited

each other; but as Sudasheo-Rao declared that Govind Punt was only in quest of forage for his own army, mutual accusations of treachery inflamed both parties, and negotiation for a time ceased.

The loss of Govind Punt was followed by another misfortune: a party of horse in charge of treasure, each man carrying a bag, were returning with it from Delhi; but having in the darkness, mistaken the Affghan Camp for their own, they were cut off to a man. Although the Rajpoots had deserted, still they continued to assist the Mahrattas with money. Sooruj Mull also sent a very large sum which reached them in safety. Notwithstanding all this, the distress soon became extreme, and the battalion of Ibrahim Khan became clamorous for their arrears. Holkar therefore proposed that they should attack with the horse, and leave the Gardees (such was the name by which the regular Infantry were distinguished) to take care of the camp—a taunt to which the Bhow shewed himself superior by acceding to the proposal. This attack was made on the 29th November on the left of the Abdallee camp; where Shah Wulee Khan, the vizier of Ahmed Shah was posted. The Mahrattas, in number about fifteen thousand, broke in and charged all they met, and although the Affghans stoutly resisted the onset, they were broken, and upwards of two thousand of them killed; at last the vizier having received support from all parts of the camp, the Mahrattas in their turn were obliged to retreat with the loss of one thousand men. * Although there was almost daily skirmishing between the two different parties individually in which the Mahrattas were usually the victors, still there was no action of importance until the 23rd December,

* Holkar led on this occasion.

when Sudasheo-Rao, Wis was-Rao, Holkar, Bulwunt-Rao, Gunput Mhaindlee, and several other Commanders came out to attack Shah Wullee Khan, who, attended by a body of horse, was proceeding to a mosque in the neighbourhood. On seeing the attack made by the Mahrattas, Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah and many other officers came out to support him and a very desperate conflict ensued. Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah having advanced beyond the others towards the entrenchment, Bulwunt Rao then acting as the Dewan of Sudasheo Bhow, an officer of courage and experience, instantly seized the advantage and charged him furiously. Three thousand Rohillas were killed, and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah for a time in great danger of being taken. But Bulwunt Rao in the moment of victory, was shot at the close of the day by a musket ball, when the Bhow greatly afflicted by his loss, thought only of retiring to his entrenchment with the body of his friend and consequently the action ceased for the time.

Actions of this sort took place almost daily the Rohillas and Shujah-ud-Dowlah earnestly endeavoured to bring on a decisive action, but Ahmed Shah steadily refused, by which he proved himself a good general acquainted both with the minds of men and the science of war. The impatience in his own camp, where the hardships were trifling compared with the Mahrattas' distress, told him precisely the state of his enemies, and that every day's delay in their situation only rendered the prey more certain. The Mahrattas were starving, the improvident waste to which they had long been accustomed, rendered them totally unable to bear misfortune and privation, and inaction gave them full time to reflect on the state to which they were reduced. Sewdasheo Rao saw that it was now impossi-

ble to avoid a decisive battle, and although he still negotiated, his own judgment told him it was hopeless. A vast body of followers, whom hunger had made careless and daring, issued forth from the entrenchment at night to endeavour to find food for themselves and famished families, when they were discovered, surrounded, and butchered by the Affghans.

The Mahrattas being longer unable to bear their privations, called to be led forth to fall by the sword in preference to being left to die of starvation. The Chiefs applied to the Bhów who approved of their resolve, and with his ordinary manner and in perfect composure distributed the usual pan and betel at the breaking up of the assembly.* Orders were issued to the troops to prepare for battle, all the grain in store was distributed, that they might have one full meal that night.

6th January 1761.

On the 7th January, 1761, an hour before day break, the Mahratta troops were moving out of their entrenchment, their Cannon, Swivels and Musketoons mounted on camels, and their rockets covered by Ibrahim Khan Gardee marched first, next came Dummajee Guickwar's horse followed by those of Wittul Sewdeo, Sewdasheo Bhow, and Wiswas Rao, Jeswunt Rao Powar, Shumsheer Bahadur, Mulhar Rao Holkar and Junkojee Sindia.

In this order they slowly advanced towards the Abdallee Camp, with every symptom of hopeless despair, rather than of steady resolution; the ends of their turbans were let loose, their hands and faces anointed with

* On the breaking up of an assembly or levee, or even in dismissing an ordinary visitor, rose water, cardamoms, cloves, mace, &c. are first distributed. When the pan leaves and betel are given it is a signal for departure.

a preparation of turmeric, and very thing seemed to bespeak the despondency of a sacrifice determined on rather than a victory. Sewdasheo Rao gave over his own wife, and several of the principal families (amongst which was that of Nana Furnuwees) to the particular care of Holkar. His reasons for so doing are supposed to have been, that Mulhar Rao was the only Chief who might expect to find favour with the unrelenting Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah, by whose counsel Ahmed Shah was greatly swayed, and Holkar was therefore the only person whose influence was likely to obtain their eventual protection.

Sudasheo Rao, just before he moved out, sent a note to one of the Carcoons of Shujah-ud-Dowlah. Kassee Punt who had been employed in their negotiations, in which was written : " The cup is full to the brim, and cannot hold another drop, if any thing is to be done, let it be immediate." At the time this note was received, the scouts of Shujah-ud Dowlah brought intelligence that the Mahrattas were moving out, on which he proceeded straight to the king, whom he found asleep in his tent, with his horse saddled at the door. On being awaked he asked the news, and when informed of the exigency, mounted his horse, and rode forward about a mile in front of his lines, where he at first began to doubt the correctness of the intelligence ; but by this time the Mahrattas had drawn up in battle array in the same order as they had marched out, with Ibrahim Khan on the left, and Junkojee Sindia on the right. The artillery was drawn up in front of the line, and a general salvo from their guns announced that they were ready. Upon hearing this, the king who was sitting on his horse smoking a kalcon, gave it to his attendant and with great calmness said to his vizier " your servant's news is true I see". He

then ordered out his army, which drew up with its artillery in front. Shah Wullee Khan with the Affghans was posted in the centre; from which Ahmed Khan Bungush, Hafiz Rehmut, and Doondy Khan's Rohillas with Ameer Beg and Berkhodar Khan formed the right wing; and on Shah Wullee Khan's left were posted Shujah-ud-Dowlah, Rohilla, Shah Pusund Khan, with a choice body of Affghans secured the extremity of the left flank.

In this order the battle began with a general cannonade, both lines then drew near each other, Ibrahim Khan Gardee supported by Dummajee Guikwar, advanced resolutely on the right wing of the Mahomedan army where the Rohillas were placed, at the same time covering his left flank from the attack of Ameer Beg and Berkhordar Khan by wheeling back two of his battalions in an oblique direction. On the right of the Mahrattas, Junkojee Sindia was immediately opposed to Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-Doulah. the last advanced throwing up a succession of embankments to cover his infantry, a most extraordinary labour, which he probably undertook with a view to ultimate defence, that in case, as was not improbable, the desperate impetuosity of the Mahrattas should break through the line, each embankment might become a rallying point. Sewdasheo Rao, with his nephew and Jeswunt Rao Powar were opposite to the grand Vizier. The great Bhugwa Jenda, or standard of the nation was raised in front, and three Juree Pulkas were in the field. Ahmed Shah was at some distance in the rear of the Mahomedan Army, when both combatants had respectively advanced beyond their Artillery. The Mahratta cry of Hur Hurree! Hur Hurree! was distinctly heard, the battle then became general and a

tremendous charge was made full in the centre where the troops of the grand Vizier, of which ten thousand were Horse, made a great mistake in advancing to meet the shock. The Mahrattas in consequence broke through them, but riders on both sides were dashed to the ground. The dust and confusion were so great, that combatants whilst they fought hand to hand and grappled in the strife of death, could only distinguish each other by the Mahomedan Allah and Deen; or the incessant Hur, Hur, Mahdeo, which rent the air. Shah Wullee Khan in full armour threw himself from his horse, and the bravest of his men followed his example; but most of the Affghans gave way. "Our country is far off," said he, "whither do you fly?" But he was left for a time defended by only a remnant of his broken force. Ibrahim Khan Gardee, though with a loss of more than half his men and himself wounded, was successful; nearly eight thousand Rohillas lay dead or wounded; but the left wing of the Mahomedan Army was still unbroken. About noon the state of the battle was reported to Ahmed Shah, who now evinced the collected decision of a great commander. He directed a chosen hand of his personal guards to enter his encampment and drive out every armed man who had retired from his duty—an order which was promptly executed. Troops were soon sent to support the wing that remained unbroken and the Grand Vizier was directed to make repeated charges with ten thousand men at full speed on the centre of the Mahrattas, whilst Shah Pusund Khan and Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah supported the Vizier by simultaneous attacks on the flank.

These onsets were still met and repulsed, but the physical strength of the Affghans, in the protracted and close struggle, was an over match for the slighter frames

of the Hindoo natives of the South. The Mahrattas however on this terrible day fought most valiantly, and no chief was reproachable but Mulhar Rao Holkar. Of his courage none of his countrymen doubted, but he did not do his best to support his prince, and some do not hesitate to accuse him of treachery.* A little after two o'clock in the afternoon Wiswas Rao was mortally wounded, on seeing which Sudasheo Bhow descended from his Elephant † and sent it is said a message to Holkar to do as he had directed, and mounting his horse, a famous Arab charger, disappeared in the confusion of the fight. The message to Holkar, if it ever was given, as he alleges, proved instantaneously fatal. Holkar went off, Dummajee Guikwar followed, and in a moment resistance on the part of the Mahrattas ceased. All was then flight and confusion, thousands were cut down, and

* Note. The early escape of Mulhar Rao on a day so fatal to his nation as that of Paniput, has given rise to some reproaches; but his advocates ascribe his safety to his superior knowledge as a leader which made him, when he saw the action lost, keep his party together, and retreat with an order that none of the others preserved. This account will be more probable if we credit the statement given of his quarrel with his commander on the day on which the battle was fought. He had, it is affirmed, entreated Sudasheo Bhow to delay the action for one or two days; but the latter, whose pride and vanity exceeded all bounds, impatient of the advice, exclaimed, "Who wants the counsel of a goat herd?" A nearly similar taunt lost the Mahratta commander the services on this day of one of his most efficient allies, Sooruj Mull, the Jhat Prince of Bhurtpoor.

Malcolm's India

† The Victory of Paniput, which is to be ascribed to the superior courage and energy of the Affghans, is naturally enough referred by the Mahrattas to other causes, and amongst those to the death of Wiswas Rao, the son of the Peishwa, which was imprudently communicated to the army by the obstinate impatience of Sudasheo Bhow, who made the Elephant sit down, that he might see for the last time, his favourite nephew.

Malcolm's India

vast numbers perished by suffocation in the ditch of their entrenchment, men, women and children crowded into the village of Paniput, where they were surrounded that night by the Affghans; and here it might seem that the greatest barbarians would have been touched with some feeling of mercy; but the Affghans showed none, to the eternal disgrace of themselves and humanity they next morning coolly took out their unfortunate victims, and divided them in their camp. They retained the women and children as slaves, but they ranged the men in lines and amused themselves in cutting off their heads, which they afterwards piled up in heaps in front of their tents as trophies. The body of Wiswas Rao was found, and Ahmed Shah having sent for it to look at, the Affghans assembled in a tumultuous manner, calling out "this is the body of the king of the unbelievers, we will have it dried and stuffed to cary back to Cabool."

Shujah-ud-Dowlah and the Rohillas at last prevailed upon them to allow the body to be burnt by the Hindoos. Shujah-ud-Dowlah also endeavoured to save Junkojee Sindia and Ibrahim Khan Gardee, who were among the wounded prisoners; but the enmity of Nujeeb-ud-Dowlah to the name of Sindia was inflexible, and the crime on the part of Ibrahim Khan of having fought on the side of the Hindoos against the true believers, decided his fate; they were both put to death. A headless trunk supposed to be the body of the Bhow, was found at some distance from the field of battle, and there is scarcely a doubt of his having been slain; but his fate was never accurately known. Jeswunt Rao Powar fell in the field, but Shumsheer Buhadur escaped wounded from the field and was one of the many massacred by the peasantry. Wittul Sewdeo Dummajee Guikwar and Naroo Shunkur with a part of the garrison at Delhi returned to

their own country. Of the fighting men, one fourth only are supposed to have escaped, and of the followers about an equal proportion; so that nearly two hundred thousand Mahrattas perished in the campaign.*

Sooruj Mull treated such of the fugitives as reached his territory with the greatest kindness, and the Mahratta nation to this day, view the conduct of the Jhats on that occasion, with gratitude and regard.

During the period Sewdasheo Bhow was shut up in his entrenchment, news of his situation from time to time reached the Peishwa, and in consequence he moved to Ahmednuggur and from thence to the banks of the Godavery. Shortly after his arrival, the intelligence received became more alarming and Janojee Bhonslay having joined him with a body of ten thousand men, the army moved towards Hindostan. They were crossing the Nerbudda when they fell in with a cossid be-

* Amongst those that escaped from the fatal field was Mahadjee Sindia. He fled from the field but was pursued to a great distance by an Affghan, who on reaching him, gave him so severe a cut on the knee with a battle axe, that he was deprived for life of the use of his right leg. His enemy, content with inflicting this wound and stripping him of some ornaments and his mare, left him to his fate. He was first discovered by a water carrier, of the name of Bhama Khan, who was among the fugitives: this man placing him on his bullock carried him towards the Deccan. Mahadajee used frequently to recount the particulars of this pursuit. His fine Deccany mare carried him a great way ahead of the strong ambling animal upon which the soldier who had marked him for his prey was mounted; but whenever he rested for an interval, however short, his enemy appeared keeping the same pace; at last his fatigued mare fell into a ditch. He was taken, wounded, spit on and left. He used to say to the British Resident at his court, the late General Palmer, that the circumstance had made so strong an impression upon his imagination, that he could not for a long time sleep without seeing the Affghan and his clumsy charger pacing after him and his fine Deccany mare.

Malcolm's India.

longing to the Soucars who had promised to reach Aurungabad in nine days after leaving Panniput. He was brought to the Peishwa who opened the despatch committed to his charge and read the contents which was as follows;—"Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be calculated." From these words, the fate of Sewdasheo Rao, Wiswas Rao, the officers and the army was understood. A confirmation of this distressing intelligence, was soon brought by fugitives from the army. Amongst the fresh arrivals was Nana Furnuwees; his mother was taken by the Affghans, but his wife escaped, as did also Parbuttee Bye, widow of the unfortunate Bhow. Grief and despondency at once spread over the whole of Maharashtra; all the military families had to mourn relatives missing or slain, and the Peishwa never recovered the shock; he slowly retraced his steps towards Poona, but his faculties were much impaired; a rapid decay of his constitution ensued, and he expired in the month of June * at the temple of Parbuttee, a conspicuous building erected by him in the southern environs of the city of Poona.

We must now revert to Nana Furnuwees's personal adventures. Early in the action he had been advised to seek safety in flight, but he did not think it honorable to leave his friend at such a critical time; but about five o'clock finding that Bhow Sahib had disappeared, he turned his horse from the field and reached the village

* Note.—Few actions have been attended with greater carnage, the lowest at which the loss of the Maharatta army is estimated, is more than two hundred thousand men, half of whom were slain; and the moral effect was still greater. The armies of the nation had collected for the struggle, and defeat was for a moment felt as the annihilation of their power.

of Panniput which was already crowded with fugitives. He would have at once proceeded further, but was totally unacquainted with the country. Fortunately for him, he fell in with a Bramin by name Ranojee Punt, who strongly advised him to dismount from his horse and disguise himself, it being his only chance of escape. He therefore divested himself of all his clothes and accoutrements with the exception of a small cloth round his loins, and at nightfall his new acquaintance with a few followers guided him westward. They had not left Panniput more than a coss, when they fell in with a party of the enemy who stopped and searched them; but although in the scuffle some of the followers were killed, Nana and his friend escaped uninjured. They had, however, advanced only twelve coss when they fell in with another party, who destroyed the whole of Nana's followers including his guide; he alone was saved by concealing himself in some long grass. After lying concealed for a considerable time and seeing no traces of the enemy he proceeded on his way, and although from childhood he had been totally unused to pedestrian exercise, still under the influence of his fears he walked sixteen coss without stopping or even obtaining a morsel of food. The following day, after endeavoring to satisfy his hunger with the leaves of trees, towards the evening he fortunately reached a village, at the entrance of which was a Gossain's hut into which he entered and was kindly treated by the Gossain, who gave him food, and having rested there all night, at daybreak he continued his journey. After proceeding some distance further, he came to another village where he was kindly entertained by a merchant, who, on finding out who he was, introduced him to a

Family Records.

rough rider by name Yeswunt Rao, who engaged to escort him to Poona, but hearing that some of the enemy's troops had made their appearance in the neighbourhood, the merchant agreed to forward Nana in his own gharry as far as Jyenuggur. He accordingly started for that place, but on the road suspecting that treachery might be intended, he left the gharry and proceeded on foot until he reached a place called Ramwarree. At this village he was most hospitably entertained by a rich man by name Ramjee Dass, who induced him to remain seven days. At last, Nana expressed a wish to proceed to Deeg, but his host would on no account hear of his leaving until provided with a trustworthy escort; shortly afterwards however, he discovered that a party of respectable persons were about to proceed there on account of a marriage, Ramjee Dass therefore sent Nana along with them in his own gharry. On the road it so happened that he fell in with an acquaintance, who informed him that his wife had been safely conveyed to a place called Jignee by Verojee Rao Barounker, and was there living in safety under the protection of her uncle Naroo Punt Gokla. On receiving this pleasing intelligence, Nana immediately proceeded there and was received with great joy, having been considered as one of the victims of that fatal battle.

After resting there for a few days and thoroughly recruiting his strength, he took his wife with him and proceeded to Deeg. At that place, having fallen in with an old friend by name Mahadeo Purshottum, who had also managed to escape from Panniput, he was prevailed upon by him to remain there for nearly a month after which he again proceeded on his journey. During his journey he fell in with a follower of his mother who

informed him of her decease; this news affected him to such a degree that at first he determined to abjure the world and proceed on a pilgrimage to Benares, but he at last yielded to the advice of his friends to proceed home and there perform his mother's funeral obsequies. On arriving at Burhampoor he found the Peishwa, who had halted there on hearing of the defect at Panniput. The Peishwa received Nana Furnuwees with the greatest kindness. Nana related all that had taken place, and shortly after the Peishwa became so fond of his society that he was never satisfied except in his presence. A few days after Nana's arrival at Burhampoor the Peishwa determined on proceeding to Poona. Nana's wife being in a delicate state of health, he obtained permission to remain some time longer on the banks of the Nerbudda. Shortly after the Peishwa had reached Poona he found his health declining so much that he wrote several letters to Nana, pressing him to join him without delay, as he felt he had not long to live. Nana therefore started to join him, and had reached Par Neera when he was informed of the Peishwa's death at Parbuttee as before mentioned.* Nana Furnuwees was much grieved at the loss of his friend, and after his arrival in Poona remained for some time in close retirement.

* Note—Ballajee Bajee Rao, was a man of considerable political sagacity, of polished manners, and of great address. His measures are marked by an excessive cunning, which Bramins, in general, mistake for wisdom; he practised all the arts of dissimulation, and was a perfect adept in every species of intrigue. The private life of Ballajee Rao was stained with gross sensuality; but though indolent and voluptuous, he was generous and charitable, kind to his relatives and descendants, an enemy to external violence and to that sort of oppression which such violence implies;—on the whole he may be regarded as rather a favourable specimen of a Bramin's power.

Malcolm.

In the month of September following, it was determined upon by Rugonath Rao, otherwise called Dada Saheb, to take Mahdoo Rao, the second son of the late Peishwa, to Sattara for the purpose of investing him with his father's office, and invited Nana Furnuwees, to go with them; he at first refused, as he considered himself merely as a servant of the Peishwas and having no relation to the Rajah of Sattara. He was, however, prevailed upon to go, and having been present at the investiture he returned with Mahdoo Rao to Poona.

From this period up to the latter end of 1762,—
A. D. 1762.
Nana Furnuwees appears to have remained unemployed, when, at that time disputes having arisen between Mahdoo Rao and his uncle on account of the former desiring a place in the
Grant Duff.
administration, Nana Furnuwees was appointed along with Hurry Punt Phurkay, a personal Carcoon of Mahdoo Rao's, and this selection was considered to be a very creditable one. Nana continued in this situation till the following year, when owing to a treaty concluded with the Nizam, the fort of Merich was returned to Gopal Rao Putwurdhun and Nana was duly confirmed in the appointment of Furnuwees, which had been temporarily held by the former. Subsequently to this period, until the year 1769, we hear little of him; at that time he appears siding
A. D. 1769.
with Mahadajee Sindia, who at the death of his nephew had laid claim to the family jagheer, and although the arrangement was distasteful to his master, still his influence was so great, that the point was carried, and ever after he was held in great esteem by Mahadajee Sindia.

In the year 1772, Mahdoo Rao Peishwa died, and
A. D. 1772.
under his successor Narrain Rao, the great abilities of Nana began to develope

themselves; he was found to have a remarkable facility in getting through business. He was duly recognized in his appointment, and was in great favour with his Master.

A. D. 1773.

Soon after Narrain Rao's murder on the 30th August 1773, Nana Furnuwees and his cousin Moroba associated themselves with Sukaram Bapoo, Trimbuck Rao, Mama Rugoba Poorundhuree, Anund Rao Jewajee, and Hurry Punt Phurkay, in attempting a revolution in setting up a claimant in opposition to Rugonath Rao, who had seized on the Government on the death of Narrain Rao, in whose murder he is said by some to have been concerned. The plot was as follows: early in the month of January subsequent to the death of Narrain Rao, it was reported that Gunga Bye his widow was pregnant; it was therefore resolved on pretence of taking her to a place of safety to convey her to the Fort of Poorundhur; but it is generally believed that the real motive was to disguise an intention they had formed of eventually exchanging the infant of Gunga Bye, in case of its proving a female by substituting a male child. For this purpose several Bramin women in a state of pregnancy were said to have been conveyed into the

There is little doubt that Annunda Bye was the original cause of the murder of Narrain Rao, who when flying from his murderers was clasping his hands round his uncle and imploring his life. Annunda Bye rushed from her apartments, and unknotted the boy's hands, and threw him with violence from Ragobah. He met the fate to which, (it is believed by almost all Mahrattas) she, from a desire to raise herself and children, was the chief cause of his being doomed. Ragobah, who is considered by his countrymen as being weaker than he was wicked, continued through life under the influence of this bold, bad woman, of whom I never heard a Mahratta speak but with disgust and indignation.

Malcolm.

Fort at the same time. Gunga Bye herself was carried off from Poona by Nana Furnuwees and Hurry Punt Phurkay on the morning of the 30th January 1774; but the reason of her removal was publicly announced. Parbuttee Bye the widow of Sewdasheo Rao, a lady very much respected, accompanied her; the ministers forming themselves into a sort of regency under Gunga Bye began to govern the country in her name. All the adherents of Rugonath Rao were thrown into confinement, negociations were opened with Nizam Ally and Sabbajee Bhonslay, both of whom agreed to support the widow's pretensions; and intrigues managed by Kist Rao Bulwunt in the camp of Rugonath Rao, were ready to break forth in general revolt, the moment that a signal was received from the confederates at Poona.

A. D. 1774.

Rugonath Rao immediately levied war with variable success, but at last his affairs reached a crisis by the birth of Mahadoo Rao Narrain on the 18th April, which gave a finishing blow to his ever being recognized as Peishwa. Notwithstanding the suspicions created by the scheme which was adopted for eventually imposing on the country, there is little doubt but that the child was really the son of the murdered Narrain Rao.

Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees were deputed by Gunga Bye to receive the clothes of investiture for her son, which were sent from Sattara by the Raja in charge of Mahdoo Rao, Neelkunt Poorundhuree, and the infant was duly installed as Peishwa, when he was only forty days old. The ministers, however, very soon became jealous of each other. Nana Furnuwees was too cautious a person to take the lead in an infant Government. But like the generality of men who had risen by revolution, and who seldom appear in the fore-

ground, he supported Sukaram Bappoo as the person likely to have most weight and consideration with the public ; this conduct of his proceeded as much from timidity as design. Sukaram was an old, cautious, time-serving courtier, but he was a man of much more courage than Nana Furnuwees, and in the humble and assidous attention of his colleague and adherent, he did not foresee a future and powerful rival ; for such indeed was the influence of Sukaram Bappoo, that his secession from the cause of the ministers, which Nana often apprehended, would have ruined them. One circumstance not generally known, which was used by Nana as an instrument of his ambition, was the power he had acquired over Gunga Bye ; for although a profound secret at the time, the young widow was deeply enamoured of Nana Furnuwees, and was taught by him the best means of managing the old minister.

Moraba the cousin of Nana Furnuwees, who had ostensibly been the prime minister of Mahdoo Rao, was dissatisfied on finding little deference paid to him, and would have readily returned to Rugonath Rao, if he could have done it with safety, and insured his future power. Such of the other ministers as would not submit to Sukaram and Nana, were soon united in common discontent. The Cabal, in short, divided into two parties, disagreement became generally known by the discovery of a correspondence on the part of Moraba, Ragoba, and Babajee Naik with the Ex-Peishwa. It appeared from letters that had been intercepted by Hurry Punt, that these three had formed a plan for securing the persons of Sukaram Bappoo, Nana Furnuwees, Gunga Bye, and her son ; all of whom on account of the chilling cold frequently experienced in Hill Forts during the rains, had come down from Poorundhur to reside

in the neighbouring village of Sassoor ; but receiving intelligence of the conspiracy, they instantly with undissembled panic, betook themselves to the fort, where they remained during the early part of 1775, Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees carrying on the affairs of State.

In the mean time Ragoba was endeavouring to conclude a negociation with the English as also one with Govind Rao Guikwar, which treaty was concluded and signed on the 6th March 1775. At this time the state of the young Peishwa's affairs wore a very unpromising aspect, owing to Ragoba's successes; both Sukaram and Nana Furnuwees were much disheartened and dreaded the consequences which generally follow disaster in India by the defections of allies, and although whilst Rugonath Rao was a fugitive in Guzerat he had solicited and obtained through Nana Furnuwees from the young Peishwa a confirmation of the rights and honors of Sena Sahib Soobeh for his son Rughojee, together with such privileges for himself as pertained to the guardianship, yet the ministers were apprehensive that the rising fortunes of Ragoba would ensure him the support of the Raja of Berar. Nizam Ally also caused the ministers great uneasiness by pretending to doubt the legitimacy of Mahdoo Rao Narrain, many of the Maharatta chiefs also being desirous of shaking off the Brahmin ministry, occasioned a revolution in the opinions of many, and an anxiety in the minds of all ; but fortunately on the 3d February 1775, the Supreme Council of Bengal, who had taken upon themselves the powers of general administration of the affairs of British India, addressed a letter to the Bombay Government completely condemning the measures

A. D. 1775.

taken by them, in concluding a treaty with Ragoba, which they declared to be invalid, and said the Mahratta war was impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized and unjust, and peremptorily required them to withdraw their forces within their own Garrisons in whatever state their affairs might be, unless their safety would he endangered by an instant retreat. The Governor General in Council also intimated their intention of sending an agent of their own to open a negociation with the ruling party of the Mahratta State. Although the Bombay Government was opposed to this measure, the Supreme Government still adhered to their determination, and Lieut. Colonel John Upton was selected as Envoy Plenipotentiary, and instructed to repair to Poona and conclude a treaty between the Mahratta State and the Bombay Government. This precipitate interference on the part of the Governor General and Council, tended immediately to strengthen the hands of the ministers at Poorundhur, and it ultimately cemented the tottering confederacy of the Mahrattas under the administration of Nana Furnuwees.

Colonel Upton arrived at Poorundhur on the 2d December. In the mean while the Governor General had written to Sukaram Bappoo, stating that the war had been waged without his authority and that he had issued orders for the suspension of hostilities, and requested the ministers would do the same, and intimated his intention of sending an Envoy to negociate a peace. The ministers soon perceived the advantage thus placed in their hands and as Brahmins in politics misconstrue moderation, and attribute concession solely to fear; they assumed a high tone of demand and menace which Colonel Upton believed to be firm and sincere. Colonel Upton's

A. D. 1775.

correspondence bears ample testimony of sincerity and moderation, but he was ill qualified to conclude a negotiation with Mahratta Bramins. Finding after a considerable deal of negotiation that he could not bring the ministers to favourable terms, he expressed his opinions to the Governor General by letter dated 7th February, who upon that determined to support the cause of Ragoba with the utmost vigour. The ministers, however, almost immediately after they had carried their menaces to the utmost pitch, acceded at once to the greatest part of Colonel Upton's original demands, and before accounts had time to reach Calcutta that the negotiations had been broken off, the treaty of Poorundhur was settled on the 1st March 1776, by Colonel Upton on the part of the Company's Government, and Sukaram Bappoo and Nana Furnuwees on that of the Peishwa's, but the name of the Peishwa was omitted, the title of Rao Pundit Purdham being only mentioned in the treaty. It was supposed that the omission of the name Mahadoo Rao Narrian, was most likely a precaution, as in case of the child's death, it was probably their intention to get Ganga Bye to adopt a son. In consequence of this treaty, that between the Bombay Government and Rugoba was formally annulled. The English Troops were to return to their Garrisons, and the army of Rugoba to be disbanded within a month, a general amnesty to be proclaimed to all followers of Rugoba four only excepted, whom the ministers knew to be particularly implicated in the murder of Narrian Rao. If Rugonath Rao should refuse to disband his army, the English agreed not to assist him on condition of his assenting to the prescribed terms. The Peishwa and his ministers consented to allow him two hundred do-

A. D. 1776.

mestics to be chosen by himself, one thousand horse, and twenty five thousand rupees monthly for his other expenses, but his residence was fixed at Khopergaum on the Godavery; the treaties of 1739, and 1756 and all other agreements not suspended or dissolved by the present articles, were confirmed.

In 1777, Gunga Bye the young Peishwa's mother died. Gunga Bye was the cause of her own death by having taken medicine for the purpose of concealing the consequence of her illicit intercourse with Nana Furnuwees.* About this time an adventurer named St. Lubin, after imposing on the English Government at Madras, obtained authority from the French ministry to proceed to Poona, and ascertain what advantages could be gained by an alliance with the Mahrattas. St. Lubin endeavoured to obtain the cession of the port of Choule with the forts of Rewadenda; and in order to induce Nana Furnuwees to enter upon a defensive alliance, he offered to bring two thousand five hundred Europeans to support the ministry, to raise and discipline ten thousand sepoys, and to furnish an abundance of military and marine stores; he affected the utmost horror at the conduct of the English in supporting Ragoba; a painting had been executed under his directions in France to represent the barbarous murder of Narrain Rao,—in which it was said by some (as we have before mentioned) that Rugonath Rao was concerned. He exhibited the picture himself before the Durbar in a burst of grief, which drew tears from some of the spectators, whilst in others it excited ridicule or contempt. A cheat in the character of a European gentleman was new to the Mahrattas, but the

* This the family deny, but the personal likeness between Nana and the young Peishwa leaves room for doubt.

discernment of Nana Furnuwees could not have been even temporarily obscured by such superficial artifice. It is probable that in the great encouragement he affected to give St. Lubin; and in various petty indignities offered to the British envoy, that he had no other object than to excite the jealousy of the English, without being aware of the dangerous nature of the experiment on which he ventured.

Nana Furnuwees was inimical to all Eurapeans; but the despicable conduct of St. Lubin, must have tended to lower the French nation both in his estimation, and that of the Mahrattas in general. M. Botts originally in the Company's service in Bengal, who was at Poona at the same period as an avowed agent of the House of Austria, received no such civilities, Nana probably perceived that St. Lubin was a fitter tool; and Mr. Botts who was early dismissed, might have viewed that circumstance as complimentary to his character.

The credulity which prevailed on the continent of Europe regarding India; and joined to this, an uncommon plausibility of address had enabled St. Lubin to impose on several young men whom he persuaded to embark in this enterprise, but unprincipled men however superior they may fancy themselves, have frequent foibles which speedily discover their true character; and those of St. Lubin's seem to have been egregious vanity and excessive irritability of temper, the latter being one of the worst failings that a person engaged in political negociations with natives could possibly have. Most of his companions became estranged from him; suspicion soon brought on altercation, and St. Lubin would have most probably murdered them had they not sought protection from Mr. Moystin a member of the Bombay Civil Service.

The encouragement given by Nana Furnuwees to St. Lubin might have had the effect of alarming the Bombay Government and inducing them to accept the stipulations of the treaty of Poorundhur under the disadvantages which the minister would have imposed, had they not been uniformly supported by the Court of Directors, who authorized them to make an alliance with Rugoba, should not the conditions of the treaty he fulfilled by the ministers.

In the meantime dissensions amongst the parties at Poona continued to increase. Nana Furnuwees despised the abilities of his cousin, but with a Bramin's caution he was at more pains to conceal his contempt than his enmity. Moraba was supported by a strong party. The English envoy attributed the confidence he could perceive in Nana to assurance of support from France. Immediately after the death of Gunga Bye, Sukaram Bappoo began to be jealous of his hitherto humble colleague, and now united, but cautiously, in a plan for the restoration of Rugoba. Moroba made the proposal to Bombay, and requested that the Government would immediately bring Rugoba to Poona. Preperations were accordingly commenced, and the President and council determined to afford their assistance without delay.

But although the Bombay Government agreed to aid the scheme of Moroba, it was with a proviso that Sukaram Bappoo (the principal authority in signing the treaty of Poorundhur) should state in writing that the invitation was made by his desire. This decided declaration, Sukaram unfortunately for himself refused, and the plan was in consequence suspended, but it was the deliberate opinion of the Bombay Government that

their own safety depended on their effecting a change in the Poona administration.

The complex political machine which Nana Furnuwees managed on this emergency with consummate artifice, was at first a little deranged by a premature attempt to apprehend Moroba, who made his escape from Poona. This exposure would have disconcerted most men; but Nana, through Sukaram Bappoo, persuaded his cousin to return, and it was agreed that a new ministry should be formed, including Moroba and Bugoba Poorundhuree, but Bugoba was not so easily persuaded, and Sukaram Hurry nobly declared that nothing should ever induce him to abjure the cause of a generous master who had been his protector from youth to manhood; that Rugonath Rao was a soldier; and Nana a cunning, cowardly courtier.

Moroba's party by the aid of Holkar's Troops obtained the complete ascendancy; and Nana who was obliged to retreat to Poorundhur, pretended to acquiesce in the plan for conducting Rugoba to Poona, on condition of obtaining security for himself and property. The Bombay Government again received notice to prepare; but the weak Moroba imagined that he had attained his object, and fancied himself at the head of the administration. Nana affected his usual deference for Sukaram's opinion, and was scrupulously respectful to his cousin. Consultations regarding the restoration of Rugonath Rao took place, and Moroba began to perceive the force of Nana's objections. He could not but recollect that when he was minister under Mahdoo Rao, the conduct of Rugonath Rao had invariably tended to dissension, loss, or dishonour. He therefore though pretending to be desirous of reinstating

Rugoba, began to evade the question when pressed by his English friends. A majority of the Council in Bombay seeing that their hopes from Moroba's party had vanished, soothing themselves with the hope of a continuance of peace with France, and with an order of being able to destroy the influence of the French at Poona, came to the determination on the 22nd April of countermanding Colonel Leslie's detatchment which had been ordered to march across from the Jumna to Bombay. But on the 3d of the ensuing month, they revised this resolution for reasons which will be explained, and directed Colonel Leslie's advance. Moroba had given Mr. Moystin assurances that St. Lubin should be dismissed ; but his departure was delayed from day to day ; and it was soon discovered that St. Lubin, by Nana's contrivance, had been able to persuade Moroba to entertain his views ; but in effect notwithstanding appearances, Nana Furnuwees unless under the immediate influence of fear, would have been the greatest obstacle to the French views, had they ever attempted an establishment in the Mahratta country. His jealousy of Europeans would never have admitted a French force sufficiently strong even for the expulsion of the English from the small settlement of Bombay, unless he could have been certain of crushing them afterwards. Nana Furnuwees however fully believed that St. Lubin could bring troops, and one deception, which the impostor adopted to obtain credit, by writing to Goa and Damaun for permission to pass two French Regiments through the Portuguese Territories, seems only to have succeded where he least wished it—with the English who intercepted his letters. While the events that have just been detailed were occurring, Mahadjee Sindia and Hurry Punt had united their

forces at Merich; Both these officers were in Nana's interests; and a well concerted plan of threatening Hyder during Nana's danger, deceived both Hyder and Moroba; nor did Moroba awake from his dream of security until Hurry Punt, and Mahadjee Sindia, united at Poorundhur on the 8th June, having taken different routes. Nana then resumed his former power, occupied the principal passes in the country with his troops, and through Sindia's influence seconded with a bribe of nine lacs of rupees detatched Holkar from the confederacy. Moroba upon this once more commenced negociating with the English, but it was too late; the opportunity was lost. On the 11th July, Moroba was seized by a party of horse belonging to Mahadjee Sindia, and shortly after made over to Nana, by whom he was thrown into confinement in the fortress of Ahmednuggur; the whole of his party was arrested but Sukaram Bappoo, whose confinement was only kept in abeyance because his being ostensibly at liberty was essential in regard to the treaty with the English.

Bugaba Poorundhuree was thrown into the fort of Wundun, and the others into different Hill* Forts in the Ghauts.

* The unshaken constancy of (one of those sent into confinement) Sukaram Hurry to his master Rugoba deserved a better fate. He was chained to irons so heavy, that although, a very powerful man, he could scarcely lift them; his food and water were insufficient to allay his hunger or quench his thirst; but he survived fourteen months; and when so emaciated that he could not rise, "my strength is gone, and my life is going" said the dying euthusiast, but when voice and breath fail, "my fleshless bones shall still shout Rugonath Rao, Rugonath Rao," Sukaram Hurry was a singular instance of the unshaken fidelity of that class in the history of Maharashtra.

The deep artifice of Nana Furnuwees, had succeeded in baffling the designs of his own countrymen, but he had still to encounter the intellect and vigour of Englishmen. The national jealousy he had ventured to awaken, rose with an aspect that terrified him. The application of the Resident at Poona to the ministers, to Sindia and Holkar for passports to facilitate the march of a body of British Troops from the Eastern to the Western side of India for the declared purpose of counteracting the designs of the French, seems at first to have been viewed by the Mahrattas in the light of a threat only. They probably inferred that if it had been intended to send troops to Bombay, they would have been embarked from the coast of Coromandel and replaced from Bengal. The idea however of forming an alliance with Moodajee Bhonslay was the motive of the Governor General for choosing the over land route.

It appearing that Nana Furnuwees not only obstructed the fulfilment of the treaty of Poorundhur, but was supposed to be negociating with, if he had not actually concluded a treaty with the French which threatened the existence of the Company's possessions on the West of India, the Bombay Government also having received instructions from the Governor General and Council to assist in tranquilizing the Mahratta states, they thought themselves authorized to call upon the new administration to know whether or not they held the Mahratta state bound by the treaty of Poorundhur, and to demand implicit answers to the points still in dispute. Instructions to that effect were addressed to their envoy and they directed him to remonstrate on St. Lubin's being still allowed to remain at Poona. Nana Furnuwees now perceived that he had committed himself with regard to the English further than he

had intended or might be able to retract, and his enmity had been too actively exercised towards Rugoba even to hope for reconciliation with him or his friends. St. Lubin was dismissed early in July before Moroba was placed in confinement, but Nana on St. Lubin's taking leave, although he entered on no actual agreement, was at that time sincere in his assurances when he declared, that if the envoy could bring a French corps to his aid, he would grant his nation an establishment in the Mahratta Territories. Sindia and Holkar granted passports for Colonel Leslie's detatchment, as it was their object that the British troops should pass through their territories, as friends rather than as enemies, Nana Furnuwees sent secret orders to the Mahratta officers and to the Rajahs in Bundelcund to oppose his progress. It was at this conjuncture that Moroba's party made proposals to Mr. Moystin containing satisfactory assurances on every point referred, but Nana who was fully apprized of all that was going forward, in order to create delay, kept back the acknowledged and executive authority of the state until Mr. Moystin's patience was quite exhausted, and that gentleman started for Bombay without it. Soon after he was gone however Nana sent them to his assistant Mr. Lewis who transmitted them to Bombay. These replies positively denied having entered on any treaty with the French, but in general they were merely a brief summary of the arguments they had before used in their interpretation of the articles of the treaty of Poorundhur. In regard to the important question of whether or not the new ministry held themselves responsibly bound by that treaty, they observed, that if the English kept that treaty faithfully they would do the same.

At the time that these evasive answers were receiv-

ed in Bombay, intelligence arrived of the war with France, and the President and Council after deliberating upon the replies and the proposals of Moraba's party, were of opinion that the former were a violation of the treaty of Poorundhur, and that they in consequence conceived themselves at liberty to pursue such measures as might be expedient for the subversion of a party in the Mahratta state so decidedly inimical to the English interests. They therefore resolved to place Rugoba in the Regency, but with an express proviso that the government should be conducted in the name of the young Peishwa, Mahdoo Rao Narrian, and that the entire power should be surrendered to him on the expiring of his minority (which by the Mahratta law is from sixteen to twenty years of age). The whole was to be kept a secret until the opening of the season, when it was intended to carry their plans into effect with the utmost vigour; and in the mean time they ordered Colonel Leslie to march towards Joonere.

Nana Furnuwees perceived the gathering storm, and his preparations to meet it, were in progress, whilst those of the Bombay Government were still in embryo. To prevent the interference of Sukaram Bappoo, he was on the plea of great age, removed from the administration, and guarded by a body of Sindia's troops who where placed over his person and house, though still Nana Furnuwees and Sindia pretended to be guided by his advice. In the mean while* Silladars were recruited all over the country and directed to assemble at the Dussara, vessels in the different ports were refitted, the Forts provisioned, and fresh instructions forwarded

* A silladar is a man who provides and keeps his own horse, and receives an average pay in lieu of all charges for his support.

to harass Leslie on his march; but at the same time positive orders were sent not to avow that the opposition was made by authority from Poona. An agent was also sent to Bombay to amuse the Government by making overtures to Rugoba; but the vigilance of Mr. Lewis had apprized them of the intention.

In the end of August the Bombay Government for the first time, received some general information from the Governor General and Council of their intention to form an alliance with Moodajee Bhonslay, and they were directed to enter on no engagement hostile to the government of Poona, excepting such as was absolutely defensive. But the president and council observed that Moodajee was so wholly unconnected with the idea of establishing Rugoba in the Regency, that this intimation ought not to be allowed to interrupt their proceedings. Notwithstanding all this up to the 12th, of October no preparations had been begun in Bombay. After considerable wrangling amongst the Council, Mr. John Carnac was appointed President of Committee to settle the preliminaries of a treaty with Rugoba. This Committee was composed of two members of Council and the Commander of the forces, in whom was not only vested the political authority, but every other arrangement for conducting Rugonath Rao to Poona; the basis of the new agreement with Rugonath Rao differred little from the treaty of Surat as far as the company were concerned; but in regard to Rugoba, it was most expressly stated that the English were to place him at Poona as regent.

A. D. 1778. The troops embarked at Bombay for Panwell on the 23d Novermber and on the 23d December the whole force accompanied by Rugoba and his adopted son Annunt Rao commenced

ascending the Ghauts. The Commissariat arrangements however were so bad that it took the army eleven days to perform a distance of eight miles. The dilatory preparations at Bombay had afforded Nana Furnuwees and Mahadjee Sindia ample time to assemble the army, Sukaram Bappoo's restraint at this crisis was deemed impolitic, probably from the same cause as before—on account of the situation in which he stood with the British Government as one of the two ministers who had concluded the treaty of Poorundhur. A reconciliation had therefore been brought about, and he ostensibly resumed his office as minister. The principal part of the military arrangements were entrusted to Mahadjee Sindia, Hurry Punt Phurkay and Tookajee Holkar, but they took care to place Holkar, of whom Nana was justly suspicious, in a situation which would render his junction with Rugoba extremely hazardous. The whole of the Mahratta army on the approch of the English advanced to Tulligaom.

A. D. 1779. On the 9th January the army reached Tulligaom where the Mahrattas made a show of resistance; but when the line advanced in order of battle they retired. They village had been destroyed by order of Nana Furnuwees and the Committee heard that similar orders had been given for burning Chinchore and Poona. On hearing this intelligence, the Commttee sunk into despondency and although Rugonath Rao earnestly begged them to defer their resolutions, they still determined upon retreating. At

A. D. 1780. eleven P. M. on 11th January the army began secretly to retreat. The retreat had hardly commenced when the Mahrattas attacked them with great vigour, and on the 13th having reached Wurgaom, the loss was found to be so great that further

retreat was deemed impracticable, and Mr. Farrar the Secretary to the Committee was sent to negociate with the ministers; they at first demanded the surrender of Rugonath Rao, which the Committee would have complied with, but they were saved from this disgrace by his having entered into a separate agreement with Mahadjee Sindia to whom he afterwards gave himself up. Sindia was aiming at an ascendancy which Nana Furnuvees was studiously endeavouring to prevent, yet each was so necessary to the other in the Mahratta empire, that although their ultimate views were at variance, their present interests were in union. The ruling party of which Nana and Sindia were now the real authorities, insisted on the Committee entering on a treaty for the surrender of the whole territory which the Bombay Government had acquired since the death of Mahdoo Rao Bullal, together with the revenue of Surat and Broach. The Committee thinking that there was an impossibility of retreat, but wishing to temporize, desired Mrs. Farmer to inform the ministers that they had no power to enter into any treaty without the concurrence of the Supreme Government. Mahadjee replied to this by saying, "Show us the power under which you broke the former treaty." A short time however had barely elapsed when the Committee sent Mr. Holmes to Mahadjee Sindia with full power to conclude a treaty.

The separate negociation thus opened with Sindia flattered him exceedingly and accorded most fully with his plans of policy, but no ebullitions of joy prevented his taking every advantage of the English, as far as was consistent with the control he now had, and was determined to preserve over Nana Furnu-

wees finally it was determined that every thing should be restored to the Mahrattas as held in 1773. *

Mr. Hornby, Governor of Bombay, disavowed the validity of the Wargaom convention, and on the 19th February laid an elaborate minute before his council, in which he took a view of Mahratta politics and the line of conduct which he thought the most expedient for the British authorities to pursue; he at the same time made every preparation to improve and recruit the army.

1778.

The end he proposed to obtain, was to secure a peace so as to exclude the French and retain the territory then in possession of the English. He assumed that Sindia had an aversion to the French and a desire to make an alliance with the English in opposition to Nana Furnuwees. In this supposition Mr. Hornby was not wholly wrong; for had Nana by any means foreign or domestic become too powerful, Mahadjee Sindia might have sought assistance from the English; but whilst Nana Furnuwees held the reins principally by the support of Sindia's power, it was completely the interest of the latter to uphold Nana's administration. All these suggestions were submitted to the supreme Government.

In regard to the alliance with Sindia, the Governor General was disposed to concur in opinion with Mr.

* The Committee was obliged on the spot to send an order countermanding the advance of the Bengal troops, and Sindia's favour was purchased by a private promise to bestow on him the English share of Broach, besides a sum of forty one thousand rupees in presents to his servants. The Committee were so completely humbled, that they viewed with gratitude the kindness of India in suffering the army to depart; they gave two hostages Mr. William Gamul Farmer and Sir Charles Stewart, as a security for the performance of their engagement.

Hornby in supposing that Sindia had some secret design of connecting himself with the English. General Goddard was therefore desired to treat separately with Sindia in case he should at any time find him disposed to espouse the interests of the Company, but the dependency of Nana Furnuwees on Mahadjee Sindia was at this time best secured by war, and whilst his Wukeel at Bombay was professing his master's regard, an attack instigated by Sindia was made on Bancoote with no other design than to blow the flame and excite the English to hostilities, as a further hold on Nana Furnuwees, whom Sindia governed by his fears. He caused the settlement of a Jagheer in Bundelcund to be made on Rugonath Rao, of twelve lacs of rupees, of which he became the guarantee on behalf of Rugoba, and at the same time security to Nana for Rugoba's never molesting the Government. He had thus got the latter into his power; but the unpopularity of Rugoba, made the custody of his person of little consequence as an instrument of aggrandizement. Nana Furnuwees was perhaps secretly pleased to observe Sindia connecting himself with a man more likely to be shunned than followed and only dangerous as a political instrument in foreign hands. Soon after this arrangement was made, Rugoba was sent off towards his Jagheer in Bundelcund, for the purpose as Nana believed of being confined in the fort of Jhansee, until Sindia might find it convenient to release him; but Rugoba's usual escort, even his guns, were suffered to accompany him, whilst his troops such as his guard scarcely exceeded the number of his own followers. Just before Rugoba reached the Nerbudda, in the latter end of May, he was secretly warned of Sindia's intentions to confine him in

Jhansee; on which having watched his opportunity he attacked and dispersed his guard and fled with all speed to Broach to throw himself at the feet of his friends the English, although he could hardly expect that they would open their arms to receive him. Although no explanation took place between Sindia and Rugoba, there is little doubt but the whole was Mahadjee Sindia's contrivance. It widened the breach between Nana and the English, but with either party it roused the fear and jealousy of one, and made him more dependent.

When Nana Furnuwees required and obtained the sacrifice of his rival Sukaram Bappoo, and of Chintoo Wittul once the minister of Rugoba, it was no test of Sindia's fidelity to him; on the contrary, his having given them up to satisfy Nana at that time is perhaps from the artifice of his character, rather an evidence of his having been accessory to Rugoba's flight. Sukaram Bappoo was hurried to Singhur and thence he was removed and thrown into the Fort of Purtaubghur; a circumstance which leads to the remarkable reflections, that this venerable man after sharing the viscissitude and privations and of grandeur, of toil and triumph which a leader in the camps and courts of a great empire must ever experience, now looked down on a scene far more awful to a mind in his situation, than the tremendous abyss of four thousand feet of black rugged rock, which formed the western wall of his prison; for from Pertaubghur on the eastern side, he saw the spot where one hundred and twenty years before, his ancestor Gopinat Bhukeel pledged to Sewajee the treacherous oath which betrayed his master Afzool Khan to the sword of the murderer. But Sukaram's death scene

was not closed in Pertaubghur. The cautious jealousy of Nana Furnuwees removed him secretly from one place and another, to prevent rescue or insurrection; and the once great Sukaram Bappoo, perished miserably in Raigurh. Chintoo Wittul's life also shortened; he died in some Hill fort from the effects of unwholesome food and harsh treatment. The fugitive Rugoba, was received, though at first scarcely welcomed by the English, and on the 12th June accompanied by his sons Amrut Rao, and Bajee Rao, the latter a child of four years old, visited general Goddard in his camp, from whom he received an allowance of fifty thousand rupees a month which the Govenor General and Council totally disapproved. General Goddard had been sufficiently prudent to avoid entering on any terms of alliance with Rugoba; it was considered very impolitic to attempt forcing a person into the Mahratta Government to whom the whole nation had manifested indifference or aversion; and therefore acting upon the terms of the Poorundhur treaty as if all accommodation was rejected, the English in support of their national honor, could do no less than engage in the war as principals. The negociation between General Goddard and Nana Furnuwees continued for several months, but towards the end of the monsoon, Goddard communicated to the Bombay Government some intelligence he had heard of a general confederacy of the Mahrattas, Hyder, and Nizam Ally against the English, on whom it was said they meditated an attack in all three presidencies. Prior to the receipt of this information, General Goddard had sent to demand implicit answers from Nana Furnuwees. This was obtained sooner than was expected, by his declaring that the surrender of Salsette, and the person of Ragoba,

A. D. 1779.

were preliminaries to any treaty which the English might wish to conclude with the Mahratta state.

When General Goddard obtained this answer from Nana Furnuwees, he immediatly started for Bombay to consult the Government regarding an alliance with Futteh Sing Guikwar and arrived in Bombay on the 1st November, his principal motive however was to urge despatch in preparing and sending off a reinforcement to the army.

The Bombay Government acceded to his desire and a detatchment under Colonel Hartly was speedily embarked for Guzerat. General Goddard on his return to Surat dismissed the Wukeel of Nana Furnuwees, put his army in a state of readiness and opened a negociation with Futteh Sing Guikwar. Futteh Sing on the receipt of the proposal attempted to procrastinate, and showed every disposition to evade a definite engagement with the English. General Goddard therefore on the 1st January put his army in motion and advanced to the northward. It is unnecessary to continue the relation of the Campaign in Guzerat further than to mention that on the 15th February the capital of Guzerat was attacked and carried by assault with the utmost gallantry. We now proceed to relate what took place subsequently to the escape of Ragoba.

1780.

After the escape of Ragoba there was some coolness between Sindia and Nana, but they were speedily reconciled; and although Mahadjee did not wish to quit the capital at that time, yet as he had Nana under command by causing him to apprehend an alliance with the English, he at last consented to oppose Goddard in Guzerat; and it is necessary to apprize the reader that Nana Furnuwees was without reserve informed of

all the subseqent proceedings of Sindia. A report however was spread of Sindia's being on the eve of a rupture with Nana, which was speedily followed by another report of his intentions to make a desperate effort to recover possession of Ragoba's person by assaulting Surat.

Rugonath Rao had remained in the city of Surat when General Goddard took the field, a circumstance which Mahadjee did not comprehend and may have disconcerted the plan he was hatching. Sindia although he took the field on the 29th February, so far from evincing hostile intentions, professed the greatest friendship for the English. The two hostages Mr. Farmer and Lieutenant Stewart who had been given up to them on the treaty at Surat and whom he had since treated with great hospitality, were restored to liberty, and joined General Goddard on the evening of 9th March.

This act of kindness was followed by the appearance of a Wukeel, Abajee Sabajee, who gave assurances of his master's friendship for the English, and enmity to Nana Furnuwees, declaring that his master had experienced the greatest ingratitude and treachery from the latter. But Goddard without being drawn into making proposals for an alliance (which allowing Sindia to have been sincere) would have afforded him a grand advantage, made suitable answers by an assurance of reciprocal regard on the part of the English; but with regard to the terms of a treaty, he left Sindia to be the judge of what would prove mutually advantageous, as the British Government in India had no other view than a permanent peace, which they were determined to obtain on terms honorable, defined and secure.

Sindia's object was to waste time in negociation and

keep Goddard inactive during the fair season; but Indian chicane is no match for European honesty. General Goddard was sincere in assuring Sindia of his desire for peace, but he limited the negotiation to a certain time, and allowed Sindia three days from the time his Wukeel quitted the British camp, to offer his proposals. Accordingly on 16th March the Wukeel returned and submitted the following terms from his master; that formerly when Rugoba was at Tulligaom after the return of the English army to Bombay, an agreement had been entered into between him and Sindia, and written engagements mutually exchanged for its performance, when the former consented to relinquish all claims to any share in the administration at Poona, and to retire towards Jhansee, where he should receive an allowance of twelve lacs of rupees per annum; that the sicca should remain in the name of the young Peishwa Mahdoo Rao Narrian; and that Bajee Rao the son of Rugoba should be appointed Peishwa's Dewan, but as he was too young to transact the business of office himself, being only four years of age, the care and management of it should be left entirely to Sindia. He now therefore proposed that Rugoba should retire to Jhansee and that the young Bajee Rao should accompany him to Poona.

Such were his proposals without declaring himself further regarding the English, whose part he still reserved for Goddard, to propose; but General Goddard merely objected to what was wrong; declared that no force should be put on Rugoba's inclinations, that he had sought the protection of the English, and that his quitting it should be voluntary, that even if the English did allow Sindia the whole power of the state, Sindia

on his part in the name of the Peishwa, should previously consent to certain conditions favourable to the British interests. The negotiation was brought to close within seven days, which Sindia probably intended to have spun into as many months, when it would have been his study to balance Bramin fears and jealousy against the policy of the English, and that sanguine temperament of Europeans which is usually accompnied by credulity.

Mahadjee Sindia continued to profess his friendly regard, but perceiving that Goddard was not to be duped, opened a negociation with Futteh Sing Guikwar and Goddard had now no other desire than to bring on an action which the Mahrattas carefully avoided; this at last took place at Pawunghur where the Mahrattas were defeated.

2d. April.

It not being deemed advisable at that period to follow up the pursuit of Sindia, Colonel Hartley was ordered at the request of the Bombay Government to reinforce the army of the Concan.

The greater part of the inhabitants of Bombay depending on the neighbouring continent for supplies of provisions, it was necessary to prevent the cutting off of such supplies by the Mahrattas by occupying several posts. The principal place captured for this purpose was the town of Kallian which Nana Furnawees set a high value on, he therefore assembled a large force for the purpose of recovering it; and driving the English from the Continent. A post on the Ghaut, was attacked and captured. The Mahrattas elated at this success advanced on Kallian which was however defended in the most obstinate manner. Fortunately Colonel Hartley arrived with his force on the 25th May and obliged the Mahrattas to retire. They subsequent-

ly retired from the Concan altogether and left the British unmolested during the remainder of the fair season. General Goddard moved on to the Nerbudda in order to place his troops in convenient stations during the approaching rains. In the Concan after the Monsoon had set in, the Mahrattas in small parties returned to molest the different posts but with no great success.

As soon as the season opened, General Goddard having brought down his force by sea to Salsette, advanced to invest Bassein, and arrived before it on the 13th November. Trenches were opened and the first battery completed on the 28th of the same month. Bassein immediately surrendered, on the 11th of the following month although Nana Furnuwees and Hurry Punt used every endeavour to raise the seige and recover the Concan. On the 10th December the united Mahratta force amounting to twenty thousand men attacked the Bombay Division both in front and rear consecutively, but were each time steadily repulsed, and having again attacked on the 12th were defeated with great slaughter; and with the loss of two of their most gallant leaders who were slain, they retreated precipitately, greatly dispirited by their heavy loss.

A. D. 1780.

The reduction of Bassein, and defeat of the army in the Concan was severely felt by Nana Furnûwees. On the 13th December a letter was received from Bengal by the Bombay Government dated the 9th October, informing them that it was the intention of the supreme Government to make peace with the Mahrattas; ordering that on the Peishwa's intimation that he had ordered a cessation of hostilies, they also were to desist in like manner; but until such an intimation was received they were urged to prosecute the war with the utmost vigour. Subsequent

to this dispatch however, news of Colonel Baillie's * disastrous defeat was received, it was therefore determined to carry on the war until some satisfactory proposal should be received from the Peishwa's Government. On the 18th January Goddard having obliged the fort of Arnaud to surrender, advanced towards the passes of the mountains. Hurry Punt then in the Concan retired to Poona, but took the precaution of leaving the Bhore ghaut guarded. It was gallantly attacked and carried by a party of the Bengal troops on the 8th Febuary, who afterwards encamped at Kundalla, where they were joined by the greater part of the force, though Goddard with the head quarters remained below the Ghaut.

1781.

The appearance of this force gave Nana Furnuwees no alarm, for his political boldness was contrasted in an extraordinary, but amongst Bramins by no means a singular, manner with his personal timidity, and the

* On the 6th September 1780, Colonel Baillie was attacked by ten thousand men, the flower of Hyder's force, whom he forced to retreat, leaving six hundred dead on the field. On the 8th he was joined by a reinforcement under the command of Lieut. Colonel Fletcher. Baillie commenced his march at twelve o'clock at night: three hours afterwards his advanced guard was attacked by the enemy's European Infantry who where placed in a grove upon the side of the road, and at the same time the horse rushed on the charge. He repulsed them in very attack, and they had already began to despair of success, when three of his tumbrils blowing up, in the midst of the confusion produced by the accident and his ammunition being expended, they made another furious charge, broke his ranks and cut them to pieces, nor did they cease the carnage after the few who still survived had thrown down their arms. Lieut. Colonel Fletcher holding up his handkerchief on the point of his sword, as a signal for quarter, was wounded in the arm, and wrapping the handkerchief round it, he received a cut across his belly—his bowels dropped out, and he fell dead from his horse.

Malcolm's India.

only effects produced on him by the advance to the Ghauts were additional efforts to increase the army, and the most vigorous preparations for rendering the country a desert and Poona a ruin. He however endeavoured to amuse General Goddard by sending an unauthorized agent to treat with him, which induced him to make overtures on the terms proposed through Moodajee Bhonslay, which were offered by the Governor General early in October before the news of Hyder's attack on Arcot had arrived and which consequently were broken off; of these Nana affected ignorance, Goddard sent him a copy of the terms and thus subjected them to positive rejection; for Nana Furnuwees remarked that these now sent could not be listened to, nor at that time would any terms be admitted in which Hyder Ally the ally of the Mahratta state was not included, (which after Hyder's attack and destruction of Colonel Baillie's force could not of course be listened to). Nana's own words were as follows "The copy of the proposals which you have sent, has been read from beginning to end by your friend; and it is certain that the contents therein written are not proper or fit for the approbation of this Government, if you are sincere in your desire of friendship it is incumbent on you to make proposals which shall include those persons who are at this time allied to and connected with the council of state." It is probable that General Goddard's own judgment disapproved of such unavailing concession; but he was urged to it by Sir Eyre Coote then Governor of Madras.

Extract of a letter from Nana Furnuwees to General Goddard. 5th March 1781.

Nana Furnuwees had sent the Peishwa now in his 7th year to Poorundhur. Hurry Punt Phurkay and Tookajee Holkar commanded the main body of his army

with which Nana advanced towards the Ghauts; and Purshram Bhow Putwurdhun was sent into the Concan with a force of twelve thousand men to harass Goddard's detatchment, and obstruct the communications with Bombay. It is unnecessary to carry the reader through the relation of the several operations of this campaign, but merely to relate the result which was a treaty concluded on the 17th May at Salbye by Mr. David Anderson on the part of the East India Company, and by Mahadjee Sindia on that of the Peishwa, Nana Furnuwees, and the whole of the chiefs of the Mahratta nation; Mahadjee Sindia being at the same time Plenipotentiary of the Peishwa. The treaty consisted of seventeen Articles, amongst which was one, that Rugonath was to be allowed twenty-five thousand rupees a month and to be permitted to choose a place of residence. This treaty was ratified at Calcutta on the sixth of June following, but the adjustment on the part of the Peishwa was delayed by Nana Furnuwees (for reasons which will be hereafter explained) until the 20th December, nor was it finally arranged until the 24th February 1783.

A. D. 1782.

During the period that the ratification was in suspense, the Governor General in Council agreed to the cession of Broach to Mahadjee Sindia, and that valuable district was bestowed on him in testimony of the conduct manifested by him towards the Bombay Army at Wurgaom, and of his humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen who had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.

Now to account for the long period which elapsed between the conclusion of the treaty of Salbye and its ratification by the Peishwa; as Nana Furnuwees was

one of the parties concerned in it, it is necessary to unfold the motives which actuated the leading parties of the Mahratta state. Notwithstanding the increasing jealousy between Mahadjee Sindia and Nana, and though the former sought to establish a kingdom virtually independent, and though each was desirous of extending his control over the whole Mahratta nation, both continued sensible of the necessity of preserving the strength of the empire undivided. During the progress of the war with the British Government, Nana's influence and reputation had increased, while that of Sindia had diminished, yet by the treaty of Salbye Sindia, whilst his fortunes seemed on the decline, had attained one great object of his policy, a sovereignty virtually independent, without any apparent breach of the link which bound him to the Mahratta confederacy. Although both Mahadjee Sindia and Nana Furnuwees were desirous of a general peace, yet each of them had secret intentions of soon breaking it in such partial instances as suited their respective aggrandizement. Nana aspired to the recovery of all the territories south of the Nerbuddah that had ever belonged to the Mahrattas, whilst Sindia projected the re-establishment of the Mahratta power in the provinces of Hindostan. Although the terms of treaty of Salbye were so much more favourable to the Mahrattas than any that could have been anticipated before the war between the English and Hyder broke out, yet Nana, being jealous of the prominent part taken by Sindia in the negotiation, and hoping that he might, by temporizing recover Salsette from the English, maintained in all communications with the British authorities, an appearance of steadfast alliance with Hyder,

Grant Duff.

whilst to the envoys of the latter he affected to be satisfied with the treaty of Salbye, and declared, that its immediate ratification by the Peishwa could only be prevented by Hyder's restoring the Mahratta possessions south of the Khistna which would ensure their co-operation; but if not restored, the Mahrattas would unite with the English against him.

Nana's ulterior views, in case the pending treaty should be ratified, were hostile towards Hyder, as he in that event projected an offensive alliance with Nizam Ally, against the usurper of Mysore, from which the English were to be carefully excluded.

With regard to Sindia's particular views of aggrandizement, in order fully to understand the reasons which operated in inducing the British Government passively to view the growth of such a power as he had acquired in Hindostan, it may be requiste to explain, that Mahadjee Sindia, even before his campaign against Goddard in Guzerat had suggested a plan of attacking the English in Bengal, and when his own Territory was invaded, he renewed the proposal to the Peishwa, requesting that Tookajee Holkar might be sent to support the design; to the whole of this scheme, Nana Furnuwees at first objected, until he saw the probability of its recalling Goddard, but he was afraid to detach Holkar from the Peishwa, not only from being apprehensive that Goddard might not be withdrawn, but lest Sindia should allay the existing jealousy on the part of Holkar towards himself; which for his own security was anxious to foment. In giving threfore a tardy acquiescence to Sindia's plans, he proposed instead of Holkar's quitting Poona, that Sindia should augment his own army by a body of Silladars from the Mahratta country, whom he offered to assist in raising.

Sindia however seeing that he had a much better chance of realizing his schemes by courting the favour of English, rather than by exciting their hostility, made various excuses for declining Nana's suggestions, and the treaty of Salbye was signed and ratified, (as has been already mentioned) on the 20th December 1782, and formally exchanged on the 24th February 1783, and the term for restoring the districts on the Bombay side limited to the 24th April.* Before that date however an outrage was committed, which had it happened at a time when peace was less essential to the British Government, might have occasioned the renewal of the war. The Ranger a small ship of the Bombay Marine, on her voyage from Bombay to Calicut with several Military officers of distinction as passengers on board, was unexpectedly attacked by the fleet of Annunt Rao Dhuleep the Peishwa's admiral, and after a most gallant defence in which most of the crew and passengers were killed or wounded, she was at last overpowered and carried as prize into Viziadroog; the prisoners were all carried into Viziadroog, and notwithstanding the want of medical attendance or indeed the ordinary necessaries, all the wounded officers recovered. This violation of the treaty produced a strong remonstrance from the British Government, and the surrender of the Peishwa's districts was suspended; but upon an apo-

* After the treaty of Salbye was signed, and envoy from Hyder was permitted by the court of Poona to proceed to Sindia's Camp and Nana Furnuwees in prosecution of his own views on Salsette, which he hoped the British Government might be induced to cede in order to propitiate his favour, gave out, that the Peishwa had engaged in a new treaty with Hyder to which the French were parties. But the death of Hyder, on the 7th October 1782, had a speedy effect in deciding the measures of the Mahratta minister and the ratification of the treaty of Salbye was the immediate result.

logy for the outrage, and the restoration of the vessel; the terms of pacification were carried into effect.

The war however was not at an end, Tippoo who had succeeded his father Hyder Ally, although he professed his acquiescence in the terms of the treaty of Salbye, continued to carry on hostilities against the English in the Madras Territories; Mahadjee Sindia called upon him to desist, threatening him in case of refusal with an immediate attack from the united armies of the English and the Mahrattas; Tippoo however persisted; and in consequence, Sindia on the 28th October concluded a treaty with the English for the purpose of enforcing compliance. It was as much the wish of Nana Furnuwees as of Sindia, to oblige Tippoo to conform to the terms of the treaty of Salbye, in order that he might appear to the powers of India, a Mahratta dependent as well as tributary; but Nana's jealousy of Sindia's assumption of authority and his own projected alliance with Nizam Ally, impeded the scheme of the league in which Sindia and the English would have borne parts, so prominent. In the meantime, a seperate treaty was concluded between Tippoo and the English Presidency of Fort St. George. The Governor General had authorized the Madras Government to negociate a treaty of which that of Salbye was to be the basis; but instead of following their instructions, from an over anxiety to terminate the troubles and distresses in which they found themselves involved, they were led into a strain of most injudicious proceedings; in the course of which they were systematically insulted by Tippoo; their representatives treated with indignity; and the British nation held up as supplicants for peace, and finally on the 11th March the treaty of Mangalore was signed

A. D. 1784.

in which every allusion to the treaty of Salbye was omitted, a circumstance than which nothing could have been more gratifying to Tippoo, or more offensive to the Mahrattas. The strongest disapprobation of his omission and of many other points of that humiliating pacification was expressed by the Governor General, and he was only prevented from disavowing it and annulling it, by the confusion that must have resulted to the Company's affairs, in consequence of a fulfilment of part of the terms, before it could have been possible to obtain their ratification.

The Poona Government affected to disbelieve that any treaty could be settled without their concurrence, and declared that such an agreement would he a violation of the treaty of Salbye ; but Mr. Hastings had previously apprized Mahadjee Sindia of the instructions sent to the Madras Government, and he now explained the departure from his orders of which that Government had been guilty, stating likewise some part of the reasons which had induced him to ratify their proceedings ; in consequence of which, as the leading parties in the Mahratta state were anxious to prosecute their respective views, there was little difficulty in reconciling them to a measure which had become irrevocable.

Subsequently, the first proceeding of Nana Furnuwees, was a formal demand from Tippoo for his arrears of tribute ; Tippoo admitted the justice of the demand, but offered various excuses for not immediately complying with it.

At the same time that the demand was made of Tippoo, a like formal application was preferred to Nizam Ally for the outstanding Mahratta claims to Chouth *

* Chouth signifies the fourth part of the Revenue.

and * Surdeshmookhee within his territory. But a secret understanding existed between the Courts of Poona and Hydrabad, they were on the best terms, insomuch that a short time previous to making this demand, Nana Furnuwees had assisted the latter state to suppress a formidable rebellion. Nizam Ally in reply to his application, proposed as had been secretly agreed, (in order to cover their designs on Tippoo,) to hold a conference with the Poona minister on the frontier; accordingly each of the parties, attended by a large Army, set out from their capitals, and in the month of June had a meeting at Eedgeer, near the junction of the Beema and Kistna. Many important points regarding their mutual claims were discussed, some of which had existed for a long period, but it was agreed, that such of the Mahratta Thannas as had been displaced by Nizam Ally since 1774, should be re-established in the Moghul territory; and the claims for Chouth and Surdeshmookhee of the two last seasons, should be put in immediate train for liquidation; adopting as a rule in all cases, the practice usual in the time of Mahdoo Rao Bullal; where any considerable doubt existed, the demands were to lie over until a general settlement could be made upon the admitted claims in the time of Nizam Ool Moolk, according to which, Nizam Ally bound himself to pay up all arrears.

Thus far the result of this conference was publicly made known, but the principal object as already alluded to, was an offensive alliance against Tippoo for the recovery of the Districts which both states had lost by the encroachment of Mysore. Nizam Ally who had overestimated the value of his own alliance, demand-

* Surdeshmookhee is 10 per cent of the Revenue.

ed as a preliminary article of the agreement, the restoration of Ahmednugger and Beejapoor. Nana Furnuwees agreed to give up Beejapoor after they should recover the Territory north of the Tombudra, but after a prolonged discussion, neither party being well satisfied, nor as yet by any means prepared to prosecute their scheme to the verge of a rupture, the conference terminated in a general treaty of alliance, the particulars of which were to be specified as soon as they found themselves prepared to enter upon its execution. After levying the tribute due by the Naik of Sorapoor, both parties returned to their respective capitals in July, and Nana Furnuwees took the opportunity of endeavouring to possess himself of the ever coveted island of Jinjeera, but the mediation of the British Government prevented the attack, until events of greater moment diverted all immediate designs from the Seedee. Nizam Ally had scarcely reached his capital, when Tippoo probably apprized of what had taken place, with premeditated insult, set up some absurd pretensions to the sovereignty of Beejapoor, and called on Nizam Ally to adopt his standard of weights and measures. Nizam Ally took little pains to obtain an explanation, until the month of October, when Tippoo was said to have taken the field for the purpose of invading that part of the Moghul Territory which lay south of the Kistna. An envoy was immediately despatched to Tippoo's camp, for the purpose of temporizing, and another to Poona in order to hasten the operations of the projected alliance. Nana Furnuwees was not only unprepared, but various affairs of internal Government prevented him at that moment from supporting his ally. Nizam Ally, therefore was glad to prevent hostilities through his envoy

at Seringapatam, which he effected not so much by any forbearance of Tippoo, as by want of his preparations for war.

The principal reason which induced Nana Furnuwees to suspend the design he had so long contemplated, was the reported progress of a conspiracy, said to have for its object, the deposition of Mahadoo Rao Narrian, and the elevation of Bajee Rao, the son of the late Rugonath Rao to the Peishwa's Musnud. Rugonath Rao after the treaty of Salbye was ratified, seeing no other alternative, accepted the terms therein specified, and fixed on Kopergaom on the banks of the Godavery, as his place of residence. He only survived this last humiliation a few months. His widow Annundee Bye was pregnant at the time of death, and shortly after, in April, gave birth to a son, Chimmajee Appa. Bajee Rao at the period of his father's death, had scarcely completed his ninth year; but the partizans of Rugonath, and many others who were dissatisfied with the existing Government, began to stir up a faction in his favour. It is creditable to Nana Furnuwees, that in adopting measures for smothering these indications which were soon accomplished, he placed no additional restraint on the family at Kopergaom. But they naturally became objects of his suspicion; mutual distrust was the consequence, and hatred grew up between Nana Furnuwees and the sons of Rugonath Rao. Mahadjee Sindia was said to have been the secret fomenter of the intrigues to which we have alluded, and from his usual policy of keeping Nana in perpetual alarm; there is ground to suspect his connivance; but he could have had no design of supporting such a faction, as he was at the time fully occupied in the accomplishment of

A. D. 1784.

those views on the Imperial Territory and events soon took place which suddenly elevated him to the pinacle of his ambition.

1784. * On the 22d October, Mahadjee Sindia made a treaty with the Emperor of Delhi which completely invested him with full authority, and placed him in a situation which he had only hoped to attain at some remote period. He refused the office of Umeer-Ool Omrah, but with his usual sagacity obtained for the Peishwa that of Wukeel-i-Mootlug, or supreme deputy, a dignity first conferred on the great Nizam Ool Moolk by Mahomed Shah, and Sindia reversing the domestic policy of the Bramins who always endeavour to be first in power but second in name, secured * for himself the appointment of deputy to the Peishwa so that he thus held by authority the executive power in Hindostan ; and a rank, which if he should be able and desirous of asserting it would supersede that of all ministers at the court of

* The Mahratta Bramin is, from diet, habit, and education, keen, active, and intelligent, but generally avaricious, and often treacherous. His life, if in public business, must from the system of his Government be passed in efforts to deceive, and to detect others in deceiving. Such occupations raise cunning to the place of wisdom, and debase, by giving a mean and interested bent to the mind, all those claims to respect and attachment upon which great and dispotic power can alone have any permament foundation.

The history of the Mahratta nation abounds with instances of Bramins rising from the lowest stations to be ministers, and sometimes rulers of a state ; but their character undergoes little change from advancement, and in general, all its meanest features remain ; though often leading armies, the Mahratta Bramins have not, with some remarkable exceptions, gained a high reputation for courage ; and if arrogant and cruel, they have often merited the charge of being unfeeling and oppressive.

the Peishwa. Holkar and Nana Furnuwees were both jealous of his elevation, and Sindia at no period of his career. was so little on his guard to prevent that jealousy from being turned against him. Nana had often expressed a wish to have a British Resident at the Peishwa's court, and Mr. Charles Malet was selected for that important mission. Although no part of the treaty of Salbye precluded the British Government from sending an envoy to Poona, yet as considerable delicacy was due to Sindia, it was desirable that he should give his assent to the appointment, and it was supposed that this would be best obtained by Mr. Malet's proceeding in person to Sindia's camp, but the latter was too sagacious not to perceive the loss of influence which Mr Malet's mission * would occasion him. He observed that after having been entrusted for three years with the management of the English affairs at the Court of Poona, the appointment

1785.

* Note.—Mr. Malet reached the camp of Sindia via Agra, on the 17th May, where he met Mr. Anderson with two chiefs and a large party of Mahadjee's cavalry ; on the 20th the ceremonials being settled, he paid his formal visit to Sindia, who manifested an indisposition to receive him in the character of Resident at Poonah.

The Mahratta chief was connected with the company by a double tie, first as a distinct ally by a separate treaty, and next as a member of the Mahratta empire, and as such was included in the general alliance with that state. It was therefore deemed most extraordinary that he should wish to confine all communications with Poona through himself. If as a member of the Mahratta empire, and in that character as mediator of the peace, he meant to engross the whole of the English negotiations at eight hundred miles from the secne of business, it was felt to be absurd, exclusive of the impossibility of submitting to dictation by a member of the Mahratta Government, or of encountering his prejudices, passions, and jealousies, and numberless intrigues; besides pampering the ambition, and promoting the grandeur of a chieftain, already too powerful.

Auber.

of a political agent of their own would necessarily impress the chiefs of the Deccan with an idea that the British Government was dissatisfied with his conduct, and had revoked the confidence it had previously reposed.

But these objections, however plausible, were not of sufficient weight to dissuade Mr. McPherson who had lately succeeded to the temporary charge of the supreme Government, from the measures which he deemed it necessary to adopt. It was determined that Mr. Malet should proceed as envoy to the court of Poona; but before the arrangement was finally settled, events had taken place to the southward, which rendered the appointment still more essential to the interests of the British Government.

Tippoo in assuming a right to the province of Beejapoor and in threatening to attack the territory of Nizam Ally, had probably no other intention than to show the members of the confederacy, which he suspected was formed against himself, that he was well prepared to resist as they to prosecute the hostility meditated. At the subsequent accomodation with Nizam Ally both parties understood that the adjustment was merely temporary; Tippoo continued to discipline his army and to prepare his forts with increased exertions; and as the crisis approached, the security of the frontier garrisons became a principal object of his attention. The fort and District of Noorgoond, situated at about twelve miles south of the Malpurba, belonged to a Bramin Dessaye, and had fallen under Hyder with the other Mahratta possessions south of the Kistna in 1778.

1785. This district had only been subject to the payment of a moderate tribute, and Hyder, satisfied with the Dessaye's submission, enacted

nothing more than had usually been paid to the Mahrattas. Tippoo however soon after his father's death had increased the demand with which the Dessaye refused compliance, but concluding that it would be eventually enforced, he secretly claimed the protection of the Peishwa whose subject he declared himself to be ; and equally as secretly through the agency of an Englishman in his service, named Yoon, applied to the Bombay Government for the aid of some regular troops, representing that he was an independent Raja willing to co-operate in the invasion of Tippoo's dominions. This application to Bombay was made prior to the treaty of Mangalore, but as no notice was taken of his overtures, the Dessaye continued to court the protection of the minister at Poona, and the friendship of the powerful family of the Putwurdhun, with whom he is said to have been connected. When Tippoo therefore pressed his demand, Nana Furnuwees interposed, and declared that he had no right to exact more than the ordinary tribute, " That Jagheerdars on the transfer of districts, were liable to no additional payments, and that the rights of Sevusthunees * who had been guilty of no treason towards the state to which they owed allegiance had been invariably respected :" Tippoo replied, that he had a right to levy what he liked from his own subjects ; and soon after dispatched two separate bodies of troops to enforce demands far beyond the Dessaye's ability to pay, which was in other words an order to reduce his forts.

The siege of Noorgoond commenced in the month of March ; and a body of Mahrattas under Gunnesh Punt Behree and Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun ad-

* Bramins who possess old hereditary Jagheers are so styled.

vanced to its relief. Tippoo's Vukeels still remained at Poona and Nana Furnuwees had sent orders to the Mahratta Commander not to precipitate hostilities ; but by the time they arrived in the neighbourhood of Nurgoond, Tippoo's officers had been compelled from want of water to raise the siege and encamp at some distance ; they however sent in derision, a message to the Bramin Commanders, intimating that they had withdrawn their troops from respect to their master the Peishwa. Fired at this insult, the Mahrattas rode on to their camp, drove in their outposts and pressed forward, until repulsed by two of Tippoo's regular battalions supported by cavalry, when they retired.

This premature attack was contrary to the orders of Nana Furnuwees ; but as it had been made, he immediately directed Tookajee Holkar with a considerable force, to support Gunnesh Punt and Pureshram Bhow, though he at the same time intimated to Tippoo his concern regarding the quarrel, and his desire for accommodation. Tippoo, whose motives will become apparent, expressed an equal readiness to meet his wishes, and even offered to pay two year's tribute provided his right of sovereignty was recognized in regard to Nurgoond. Nana Furnuwees by the advice of Nizam Ally, and on assurance that submission was all that was required from the Dessaye, acceded to Tippoo's proposal and every thing appeared to be settled except the mode of payment, for which a period of twenty seven days was allowed, and the Mahratta army recrossed the Kistna. Tippoo however had practised a gross deception—Nurgoond, left to its fate, submitted, and the terms offered to the unfortunate Dessaye were not observed ; after evacuating the fort, he and his family were treacherously seized, his daughter was reserved

for the Sultan's seraglio, and the rest were immured in Cabuldroog, where they perished.

The Fort of Kittoor, which also belonged to a tributary Dessaye, had likewise been seized, and both that place and Nurgoond before the opening of the season were occupied by strong garrisons of the Sultan's Troops. To crown these acts, as if he designed to render himself as odious as possible to the Mahrattas, Tippoo forcibly circumcised many of the Hindoo inhabitants of the territory south of the Kistna; and ten thousand Bramins destroyed themselves to avoid the detested violation.

Nana Furnuwees very soon found that he had been duped by Tippoo, and he even began to doubt how far he might rely on the co-operation of Nizam Ally, the inefficient state of the Moghul army had not escaped his observations when they met at Eedgur, and he was alarmed by accounts of the excellent state of discipline to which Tippoo's battalions had attained; these circumstances, combined with a report of Tippoo's having entered into an alliance with the French, had the effect of overcoming his reluctance to calling in the British Troops. But as Nana imagined the English would join in an offensive alliance against Tippoo on almost any terms, and being solicitous not to pledge himself so far as to prevent his eventually receding, the overtures to Mr. Boddam, Governor of Bombay, were made with much caution. In the month of July he sent an agent to that Presidency, offering on the part of the Peishwa, to give up to the Company any two of Tippoo's sea ports on the Malabar Coast on conditions of being assisted with a body of troops to cooperate in the reduction of his territory. Mr. Boddam

received the proposal without expressing the least surprise at the inadequacy of the terms, and referred Nana Furnuwees to the Supreme Government with an unfeigned indifference which did not escape the quick-sighted envoy, and from which Nana began to change his opinion of the English policy. Although Nana Furnuwees sent a private agent of his own to Calcutta, it was necessary to prosecute the negotiations through Mahadjee Sindia, whilst there was no British Resident at the Peishwa's court. Sindia immediately applied to the Governor General through Lieutenant James Anderson, then resident Envoy in his camp, informed him of the probability of a rupture between the Peishwa and Tippoo, and artfully assumed as a matter of course, that the English would afford every assistance, as by the treaty of Salbye the friends and enemies of the Mahrattas and English were mutual. He added, that the Peishwa was sure of the co-operations of Nizam Ally, that the terms of the alliance were, that each state should recover its lost territory, and of any new acquisitions there should be an equal participation. Mr. McPherson in reply observed, that the treaty of Salbye did not stipulate that the friends and enemies of the state should be mutual, but that neither party should afford assistance to the enemies of the other, and that by the treaty of Mangalore, the English were bound not to assist the enemies of Tippoo. Mr. McPherson in declining the alliance however, made strong professions of friendship towards the Mahrattas, hinted at some reasons for dissatisfaction with Tippoo on the part of the British Government, in consequence of his not having fulfilled all the stipulations of the treaty of Mangalore, and concluded by assur-

ing Sindia, that in case of any reverses, the British Government would not suffer the Mahrattas to be overpowered. Nana Furnuwees, the less solicitous the Governor General appeared, became the more anxious to obtain the co-operation of the English, and he urged it the more in consequence of a new treaty supposed to have been concluded between Tippoo and the French. At last either in despair of obtaining the aid of the English, or in order to quicken their decision, he made overtures to the Portuguese, by whom he was promised assistance.

It is certain that Nana believed in the existence of this new treaty between Tippoo and the French, as the Mahratta envoy at Pondicherry publicly remonstrated with the French Governor, and accused him thereby of having violated the promise of the king of France to the Peishwa. The French Governor denied the existence of such a treaty, and as a proof of what he alleged, proposed a closer connection with the Peishwa, a circumstance which is said to have greatly offended Tippoo, who was already jealous of the high and independent tone assumed by his French friends. The French envoy at Poona was treated with much attention, and it was believed that the Peishwa's Government had agreed to cede Revadunda to that nation on condition of their not assisting Tippoo; these negotiations, showed more than ever the necessity of appointing a British Resident at Poona, and Mr. Malet, then in Calcutta, was instructed to repair to Bombay and there await an invitation from the Peishwa to repair to his capital. In the mean time the army was assembled at Poona for the purpose of invading Tippoo's territory, and Mr. McPherson offered to send three Battalions to assist in the defence of the Mahratta

country, provided they were not employed within Tippoo's boundary; but as Nana's views extended to conquest he did not contemplate defence, and therefore rejected the proposal.

The periodical rains were this year of unusual duration, and the Mahratta army under Hurry Punt Phurkay, did not quit Poona until about the 1st December. The troops advanced towards the eastern frontier for the purpose of forming a junction with Moodajee Bhonslay and Nizam Ally; Moodajee shewed himself to have a sincere desire to connect himself with the head of the Poona state, and in the name of his son Rughojee entered on a new agreement, promising to adhere strictly to what had been framed by Mahdoo Rao and Janojee in 1769. He pledged himself particularly never to assist the English against the Peishwa's Government, and promised to co-operate in the expected war with Tippoo for which purpose he was now advancing. Nana Furnuwees followed the army for the purpose of conferring with Nizam Ally, and overtook Hurry Punt at Punderpoor, whence they moved down the right bank of the Bheema, and were joined by the Moghul Troops near the spot where the interview took place during the preceding season. It was

A. D. 1786.

now resolved to reduce the whole of Tippoo's territories and to divide the conquest into six equal parts, of which Nizam Ally was to receive two, the Peishwa two, and Sindia and Holkar two shares between them. It was further agreed that their first efforts should be directed to the recovery of the Mahratta districts between the Kistna and Toongheddra. The main body of the confederate army was immediately put in motion towards Badamee, and after having battered it for twenty days without causing a practicable

breach, it was carried by escalade on the 20th May. After the fall of Badamee, Nana Furnuwees returned to Poona, and Hurry Punt was left to prosecute the war.

In the feeble operations that followed, neither party could boast of much advantage, and the confederates were surprised by Tippoo suddenly tendering proposals of a peace, the motives for which they could not account for; he was sincere however, and a treaty of peace was concluded in April.

A. D. 1787.

The Mahrattas obtained the cession of Badamee, Kittoor and Nurgoond, the other towns and districts reduced by them, were restored to Tippoo. Tippoo also agreed to pay forty-five lacs of tribute, thirty of which were immediately produced and the remainder promised at the expiration of a year. Tippoo's motives for acceding to so disadvantageous a pacification, have been justly imputed to his apprehension that the English were about to take part against him. Mr. Malet had not only been invited to Poona as Resident, but at the request of Nana Furnuwees he had joined him at Badamee—a circumstance which, Tippoo conceived, bespoke a very intimate connection; but the acting Governor General was studious to allay any alarm it might create, and had partly succeeded. Shortly afterwards however, in September 1786, Lord Cornwallis, having assumed charge of the Supreme Government, addressed letters to the Peishwa and Nizam Ally in which he expressly intimated his determination to take no part in the war between the confederates and Tippoo Sultan,; yet the state of military efficiency in which it became the immediate care of the new Governor General to place all the Presidencies, occasioned a bustle and apparent preparation which seemed to have convinced Tippoo that the designs of the English were decidedly hostile; and may

not only account for his earnestness to terminate the war with the confederates, but afford some reason for that rancorous hostility which led him to persevere in schemes for annihilating the power of the British nation in India.

The appointment of a Resident at the Peishwa's Court was not more a cause of alarm to Tippoo than of jealousy to Mahadjee Sindia. A tardy acquiescence was obtained from the latter to the measure, and in order to reconcile him to it as much as possible Mr. Malet was instructed to send his despatches to the Supreme Government through the Resident for the purpose of being submitted for Sindia's information and obtaining his opinions, but Sindia was at this period and for several years afterwards, too much occupied with his own vast projects in Hindostan, to be able either to prevent the English from establishing their influence in Poona, or to direct much of his attention to the affairs of the Deccan.

Sindia under the sanction of the Emperor's name had preferred a claim for tribute on the Rajpoots and had taken the field to enforce the same, but finding himself worsted by the Rajpoots, was obliged to retreat towards Gwalior. In his distresses he had often written to Nana Furnuwees for troops, and now again wrote that although he by no means considered his own affairs desperate, yet he had reason to believe the English were about to form an alliance with the Emperor of Delhi and the Rajpoots; he therefore submitted to his consideration the danger that must ensue to the whole Mahratta empire, by allowing the English to establish their sway over the provinces of Hindostan, and to gain such an influence as they must acquire, if assisted by the weight of the imperial name. He strongly disavowed feeling of jealousy, and called on Nana, if such did exist towards

himself, to erase it from his mind, to ask Holkar, Hurry Punt, and Pureshram Bhow, if he had ever interfered with their views, and if they had not seen that all his endeavours tended to the aggrandizement of the empire. "We serve" continued Sindia, "a common master, let our exertions be directed to the common cause; if you personally entertain jealousy of me, ask yourself who supported you against the factions of Moroba, and put your rival Sukaram Bappoo into your power—who suppressed the insurrection of the pretended Sudashew Rao Bhow—beat the English at Tulligaom—maintained a great share of the war against them and concluded an advantageous peace? Think of these services, banish suspicion, and silence calumniation. Who are our mutual enemies? Let the cause of the Mahratta nation be upheld in Hindostan, and prevent our Empire from being disunited and overthrown." These observations though incorrect with regard to any alliance thus meditated by the English, carried much truth in them, but the grand aim of Nana Furnuwees was to cement the Mahratta confederacy under the authority of the Peishwa, and the whole conduct of Sindia had so fully proved that his views were directed to independence if not supremacy in the empire, that Nana, however unwilling to relinquish Mahratta claims in Hindostan, hesitated as to the extent and mode of reinforcing Sindia's army. A body of troops had been held in readiness, under Ali Bahadur, * even prior to Sindia's retreat, but Nana wished to employ them in making a distinct settlement with the Rajpoot states in the name of the Peishwa, for the purpose of extending the Mahratta influence, without confirming the power of a rival of such inordinate ambition.

* Son of Shumsheer Bahadur, and grandson of the great Bajee Rao.

It is supposed by some of his countrymen that Nana had some communications with the Raja of Jeypoor for the purpose of preserving the Hindoo power, but with a view also of controlling Sindia. The moderation shewn by the Rajpoots in not molesting Sindia's retreat, is adduced as a proof of this conjecture, and without an absolute rupture with Sindia which was justly considered ruinous to the empire, Nana saw no means of attaining the ascendancy that he desired. Besides the difficulties arising from these considerations, some fresh acts of hostility on the part of Tippoo, rendered him averse to detach troops from the Deccan. Sindia however, whilst he urged these applications at Poona, was using every exertion to retrieve his affairs by his own resources.

A. D. 1787. At the period when Sindia retreated to Gualior, we have observed, that one reason that prevented Nana Furnuwees from supporting him with troops from the Deccan, proceeded from fresh aggressions on the part of Tippoo; in fact, the latter scarcely permitted Hurry Punt to recross the Kistna, when he retook Kittoor, and an army assembled at Bednore threatened a descent on the Mahratta territories in the Concan. As often happens with respect to the capricious conduct of the natives of India, it is difficult to reconcile this procedure with the reasons which had so recently induced Tippoo to tender hasty proposals of peace. Some of the English, from various rumours then in circulation, concluded that it was a deception contrived with the consent of Nana Furnuwees preparatory to a general confederacy against the English; in which the Mahrattas, Nizam Ally, Tippoo, and the French, had become parties. In regard to the Mahrattas, there was no foundation for

this supposition; but there was reason to believe that Tippoo had revived his engagements with the French, and that his designs were more hostile to the British than to the Mahrattas; but he wished to conceal his real object until he could prepare his army and obtain effectual assistance from France. Nana Furnuwees believed that the invasion of the Mahratta territories was his chief object, and in the end of the year 1787, proposed to the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, through Mr. Malet, to form on the part of the Peishwa a defensive alliance with the English, in order to control the overbearing and ambitious spirit of Tippoo. Lord Cornwallis, although impressed with a belief of the great importance of this offer as essential to the safety of British India, was prohibited by Act of Parliament from accepting it, until Tippoo should break through his engagements by some unequivocal act or declaration of hostility; in declining it therefore, he instructed Mr. Malet to offer general assurances of the sincere desire of the Governor General to cultivate the friendship of the Peishwa's Government.

A. D. 1788-89. In 1788, in was confidently reported that Tippoo was engaged in hostile machinations; that an attack made on Tellicherry by the Raja of Chinchore was at his instigation; and that he meditated the subjugation of Territories of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British, which formed an important preliminary to the conquest of the British settlements in the south of India. Captain Kennaway who had been chosen political agent by the Governor General to obtain from Nizam Ally the cession of Guntoor, which had been ceded by Nizam Ally by treaty concluded in 1768, was instructed to confine his immediate communications to general expressions of the

Governor Goneral's wish to maintain the most amicable understanding with the Soubeh of the Deccan in all affairs that might arise requiring adjustment, but soon after, as appearances bespoke no immediate hostility on the part of Tippoo, and Nizam Ally expressed his willingness to settle every thing with the British Government in an equitable manner, the Governor General wrote him a letter which he declared to be equally binding as a treaty, in which he promised that should the English at any future period obtain possession of the territory in question, they would then perform their engagements to him and the Mahrattas. This promise certainly implied at least an eventual intention of subduing Tippoo, and Tippoo considered it as a treaty of offensive alliance against him. He was now at less pains to conceal his intended invasion of Travancore, and his attack on the lines on the 29th December was considered to be a declaration of war.

Nana Furnuwees no sooner heard of it, than he made specific proposals to the Governor General, through Mr. Malet, in the name both of his master and of Nizam Ally, which with slight modifications were accepted.

A. D. 1790. A preliminary agreement was settled on the 29th March, and a treaty offensive and defensive was concluded at Poona on the 1st June, between Mr. Malet on the part of the Company, and Nana Furnuwees on the part of the Peishwa and Nizam Ally; by which these native powers stipulated to attack Tippoo's northern possessions before and during the rains with an army of twenty-five thousand horse, and reduce as much as possible of his territory; that after the rains, they should act against Tippoo with their utmost means, and in case the Governor General should require the aid of

ten thousand horse to co-operate with the English army, that number was also to be furnished within one month from the time of their being demanded, but maintained at the expense of the Company's Government.*

The first campaign of the English against Tippoo in this war was conducted by General Meadows; it commenced on the 26th May 1790, and terminated by the return of the army to Madras on the 27th January of the following year. The advantages obtained were by no means inconsiderable, but not so great as had been anticipated. General Medows, with the Madras Army invaded Tippoo's territory from the south, and reduced Caroor, Dindigul, Coimbatoor, and Paulghat; whilst Colonel Hartley with the Bombay forces assailed it from the west, gallantly attacked and routed a strong corps in the neighbourhood of Calicut, and a reinforcement being brought from Bombay by General Sir Robert Abercrombie who assumed the command, the province of Malabar was soon cleared of Tippoo's troops.

A. D. 1791.

It is unnecessary here to relate the subsequent operations against Tippoo, further than to notice, that Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by Hurry Punt and the son of Nizam Ally Sekunde Jah, arrived with the combined army before Seringapatam on the 5th Feburary 1792,

* Equal division was to be made of the acquisitions, should the joint forces be successful. If the Company's forces made any acquisition from the enemy previously to the commencement of hostility by the other parties, those parties were not to be entitled to any share thereof.

Auber. If certain Polygars and Zumeendars, dependent on the Peishwa, or Nizam, were dispossessed by any of the allies, they were to be restored; and should the Polygars, or Zumeendars act unfaithfully towards the Peishwa or the Nizam, the latter authorities were to treat them as might be judged proper.

and on the following day a well concerted and brilliant attack made by the English on his camp, put the allies in possession of the whole of the outworks, and immediate preparations were made for commencing the seige. Tippoo repeatedly endeavoured to open negociations, but his first overtures were for various reasons considered inadmissible; at last in consequence of the more becoming form and tone of his proposals, together with the intercession of the allies, particularly of Hurry Punt, two Wukeels were admitted to an audience on the 14th idem; whilst in the meantime, the attack and defence were going forward as if no peace had been meditated. The Wukeels were met by three agents appointed by the allies respectively, Sir John Kennaway on the part of Lord Cornwallis, Buchajee Rugonat on that of Hurry Punt, and Meer Alum in behalf of Sekunde Jah. After considerable discussion and many references by the Wukeels to their masters, Tippoo finally on the 23rd Feburary consented to cede half the territory that he possessed before the war; to pay three crores and thirty thousand rupees; one half immediately, and the rest in three equal instalments within a year; to release all prisoners made so from the time of Hyder Ally; and to deliver two of his sons as hostages for the due performance of the conditions. An armistice had taken place for two days, the hostages had already arrived in the English camp, upwards of one crore of the money had been paid, and the definite treaty on the point of conclusion, when Tippoo who appears from the first to have overlooked the circumstance, finding that the principality of Coorg was included in the list of cessions, loudly remonstrated at yielding what he termed equivalent to the surrender of one of the gates of Seringapatam. Appearances

indicated his determination to break the truce, but the principal measures adopted by Lord Cornwallis for renewing the siege, and his declared resolution to give up none of the advantages already secured, induced Tippoo to reflect on the consequences, and finally to sign * the treaty without reference to the condition of the former dependants of the Peishwa and Nizam Ally, or to that clause which secured a greater advantage to the party first in the field; the allies received an equal share of the districts ceded by Tippoo, amounting annually to about forty lacs to each.

An enquiry into the reasons which induced Lord Cornwallis to refrain from the entire subjugation of Tippoo's territory when he had every means of doing so, is foreign to the object of this narrative; it is only necessary to mention, that even Nana Furnuwees and Pureshram Bhow, the parties in the Mahratta army most inimical to Tippoo, were averse to the total overthrow of the Mysore state, and Mahadjee Sindia was decidedly hostile to that course of policy. The Mahrattas however, who are not sensible of the effect which may operate on British authorities from the influence of public opinion in England, attribute the moderation shewn by the Governor General, to the representations of Hurry Punt Phurkay at the period when Lord Cornwallis was negociating the alliance against Tippoo. He instructed Major Palmer the resident with Sindia to request both Sindia and Holkar to use their influenee at Poona for the purpose of effecting the desired connection between the Peishwa and British Government. Sindia offered to unite in the confederacy against Tip-

Auber.

* The final treaty was signed on the 19th March 1792.

poo, provided two battalions of regular Troops were sent to join the army, with which he proposed to march southward, and that the British Government should become bound to protect his territory in Hindostan during his absence. These proposals being considered inadmissible, he refused to become a party to the treaty of Poona. In the mean while, Sindia was carrying on his operations against the Rajpoots, and it was supposed would have completely subjugated them, but for the opposition and dissensions to which he was exposed from his colleagues Holkar and Ali Buhadur, which induced him to grant them a peace on their agreement to pay a moderate tribute annually. During these contentions of Sindia with his collegues, he frequently declared his intention of repairing to Poona for the purpose of obtaining their recal; but Nana's policy in supporting Holkar was well known, and Sindia's situation was deemed too insecure to admit of his venturing on an excursion so distant. When he therefore actually commenced his march to Poona, various were the conjectures which ensued. Some considered, that, jealous of the increasing power of the British, and their influence at Poona and Hydrabad, his views were directed to the establishment of his own authority at Poona for the purpose of preventing the ascendancy which it seemed probable they would obtain, especially if Tippoo's dominions were conquered and partitioned; others supposed that he had views on the Territory of Nizam Ally, and some believed that his sole object was to prevent the interference of Holkar in his late acquisitions in Hindostan.

It is probable that there was some foundation for all these surmises; certain it is that he had in view the control of the Bramins and the establishment of his own

authority at the Peishwa's capital. After the battle of Patun in June 1790, he obtained from the Emperor for the third time, patents constituting the Peishwa " Wukeeli-mootluq ; " but now this was to descend to him as a hereditary office in an immutable Enaum, on condition however of appointing Sindia and his posterity his perpetual deputies. In order therefore to exhibit to his countrymen his absolute power over the Imperial house of Timour, for which the Mahrattas in the Deccan had long an habitual respect, and to gratify the feelings of all Hindoos, the Emperor invested Sindia with the right of selecting his own heir from amongst his sons, and issued an edict forbidding the slaughter of bullocks andcows throughout the Moghul dominions.

Sindia's march to the southward was very slow; and he often appeared as deliberating whether he might venture so far from his own territory. He gave out that he was proceeding to Poona by the Emperor's orders, as bearer of the Sunnuds and insignia of the office of Wukeel-i-mootluq for the Peishwas. On his arriving at Bhur near the Godavery charged with such commissions from the Emperor, he made some demands on Nizam Ally, the nature of which is not ascertained; but he endeavoured to induce him to make him a present of the fertile district of Bhur and bestow Aurungabad on the Peishwa. On being refused, he pretended to be much hurt at his want of courtesy.

Nana Furnuwees long doubted whether Sindia would actually come into the Deccan; but on being assured that he was on his route from Burhampoor, he applied to Lord Cornwallis through Hurry Punt Phurkay for the permanent services of Captain Little's detachment, which had done such good service during the war, offering in the name of the Peishwa to subsidize it;

but the Governor General declined assenting to this proposal. Sindia was very apprehensive of a connection of that kind; and to allay Nana's well founded jealousy of his regular Infantry, he only brought with him a small party under an Englishman of respectable character named Hessing, and one complete battalion, commanded by Michael Feloze, by birth a Neapolitan, a low illiterate man of worthless character but of considerable address and cunning. Sindia arrived at Poona on the 11th June, and pitched his camp near the Sungum or meeting of the Moota and Moola rivers, the place assigned by the Peishwa for the residence of the British envoy and his suite; and hence the Sungum and the Residency, a spot for many reasons interesting and well known to most of our countrymen who have visited that quarter, became synonymous.

Nana Furnuwees did every thing in his power to prevent the Peishwa's acceptance of the titles and insignia brought from the Emperor; he represented the impropriety of adopting some of the titles and insignia, especially that of Maharaj Adeeraj (the greatest of great Rajas), which was inconsistent with the constitution of the existing Government of the Mahratta empire. Still Sindia persisted, and permission for the Peishwa's acceptance of all the honors was formally obtained from the Rajah of Sattara. Nine days after his arrival Nana Furnuwees visited Sindia, who received him in the most cordial manner, refused to sit on his musnud in the minister's presence, and treated him with the greatest respect. On the ensuing day Sindia paid his respects to the young Peishwa, carrying with him numerous rare productions and curiosities of Hindostan for the young Prince. The following morning was appointed for the grand ceremony of investing

the Peishwa with the dignity and title of Wukeel-i-Mootluq, and Sindia spared no pains to render it as imposing as possible. A grand suite of tents were pitched at a distance from his own camp, the Peishwa proceeded towards them with the most pompous form, at the further end of these splendid apartments, a throne meant to represent the Emperor of the Moghuls was erected, on which was displayed the Imperial Firman, the khillut or dresses of investiture, and all the principal insignia. The Peishwa on approaching the throne made his obeisance thrice, placed one hundred and one gold mohurs upon it as a nuzzur or offering, and took his seat on his left. Sindia's Persian Secretary then read the Imperial Firman, and amongst others the edict which prevented the slaughter of bullocks and cows. The Peishwa then received the khilluts consisting, of nine articles of dresses, five superb ornaments of jewels and feathers, a sword and shield; a pencase, a seal and inkstand, and two royal morchuls or fans of peacock's tails, accompanied by a nalkee,* a palkee,† a horse and elephant; besides six elephants bearing the Imperial standard, two crescents, two stars, and the orders of the fish and sun.

* A nalkee is a sort of sedan chair without a top, having four poles, two behind and two before, never used but by the Emperor or persons of the very highest rank.

† A palkee is totally different from the more useful and convenient, though less splendid, conveyance commonly used by Europeans and termed by them a palanquin; the natives who call them mynas, also use the same conveyance, but the palkee is a sort of bedstead, over which a pole very much curved in the middle, is fastened, and above all a scarlet cloth stretched on bamboo as an awning, and sometimes very highly ornamented, is placed; when used by ladies there are screens affixed to the upper cloth.

The Peishwa retired to an adjoining tent and returned clothed in the Imperial khillut, when he resumed his seat, and Sindia followed by Nana Furnuwees and such of the Peishwa's officers as were present, offered nuzzurs of congratulation. When the Peishwa arose to return to his palace, he was followed by Sindia and Hurry Punt carrying the morchuls and fanning him. He entered Poona seated in the nalkee, the concourse of people assembled to witness the procession was exceedingly great, the pomp and grandeur displayed was beyond anything that the inhabitants of Poona had ever seen, whilst the clang of thousands of musical instruments, the shouts of the populace, volleys of musketry, and salvos of cannon, seemed to give all the effect that the projection of the state ceremony could possibly desire.

The investiture of Sindia by the Peishwa, as Deputy to the Wukeel-i-Mootluq, immediately followed on their arrival at the Peishwa's palace; but on this occasion and on several others, the pretended humility of Sindia gave disgust, when he insisted on being considered as the hereditary servant of the Peishwa entitled only to carry his slippers,* and to be addressed by no higher title than that of Patell; though this affectation was meant to be in conformity with Mahratta taste, it failed in

* The first person of this family was Ranojee Sindia, who became eminent as a soldier; he was Patell of Kummah Kurrah in the districts of Waee. The humble employment of Ranojee was to carry the Peishwa's slippers. Ranojee's advancement however is imputed to accident; it is stated that Bajeerow Bullal on returning from a long audience with Shao Raja, found Ranojee asleep on his back with the slippers of his master clasped with fixed hands on his breast. This extreme care of so trifling a charge struck Bajerow so forcibly that he immediately appointed Ranojee to the body guard, whence his rise was rapid.

Malcolm's India.

effect; no Bramin of education was pleased or deceived by such coarse self disparagement, and the old Mahratta, though Mahadjee Sindia had purchased some hereditary privileges in the Deccan, would much more readily have acknowledged his new Imperial titles, than have assigned to him the appellation of Patell, a distinction which they considered due only to the legitimate Sindia. The Patell of Kummur Kurrah, the Mankurees, and those Cavaliers who considered themselves the old Officers of the Rajahs of Sattara, though some among them could scarcely term the horse he rode his own, refused to enter the Imperial tents with the Peishwa, nor would they present nuzzurs to him as Wukeel-i-Mootluq. Nuzzurs were presented to Sindia by his officers on returning to his camp, but the feeling amongst his countrymen which was too strong to escape his notice, proved to him the necessity of much caution in the prosecution of his further designs.

His principal object was to gain the confidence of the young Peishwa, to which the rarities he had brought from Hindostan, and the splendid spectacle with which he had been gratified, paved the way; the frank, unreserved manners of Sindia, who talked to the young Prince of hunting and hawking, and carried him out on frequent excursions to see those field sports, were things so very different and so much more agreeable than the sedate and grave observance of decorum habitual to Nana Furnuwees, that Sindia soon became his constant companion. Parties to the country in the neighbourhood of Poona constantly took place, to which the young prince was invited, and Nana thought it advisable to give his assent, although he clearly saw the design of Sindia, and watched his proceedings so

vigilantly that it was difficult for him to find opportunities of conversing with Mahdoo Rao unobserved; when they did occur, Sindia never failed to comment on the manner in which he was treated, and to assure him that he had both the power and inclination to render him independent of such tutelage; but although Mahdoo Rao readily entered into every scheme of pleasure suggested by Sindia, his natural good disposition and judgment rendered it by no means easy to shake his confidence in Nana Furnuwees, and at first he combated Sindia's arguments with warmth; but the customary restraints before unfelt, began to be irksome, and Sindia's society proportionably more desirable.

Sindia's public affairs at the Durbar seemed principally to refer to Hindostan; he represented the large sums he had spent in extending the empire and procuring such honors and dignity for the Peishwa; he petitioned for the payment of his expenses, the entire management of the affairs in Hindostan, and finally for the recall of Holkar and Ali Buhadur. In reply to these, the minister always demanded in the first instance an account of the revenue of those districts which he had subdued so easily, and had enjoyed so long. Many discussions on these subjects took place, and many circumstances occurred tending to strengthen the mutual jealousy of Sindia and Nana; but they for some time maintained every form of civility and respect, whilst their respective parties in Hindostan though engaged in service together in the Rajpoot country, were almost in a state of open rupture.

Subsequently to the surrender of Canoond which happened before Sindia reached Poona, Holkar's and

Sindia's armies were levying tribute together in the Rajpoot territory; they had also taken two forts, when quarelling about the spoils, their jealousy broke forth into open hostilities which brought on a battle, on which occasion, Gopal Rao Bhow Lukeva Dada, and DeBoque with twenty thousand horse and nine thousand regular infantry defeated Holkar's army consisting of thirty thousand horse and four regular battalions. Holkar's army was completely defeated and the shattered remains of the corps retreated precipitately into Malwa, where Holkar in impotent rage sacked Oojein, the Capital of his rival. When these accounts reached Poona, the ostensible cordiality of Sindia and the Court was for a time obstructed, and precautions were adopted by both parties as if apprehensive of personal violence. Nana Furnuwees called in the aid of Pureshram Bhow, who arrived with two thousand horse; this imprudent reinforcement furnished Sindia with a greater pretext for greatly increasing the parties who had accompanied him and for bringing down one of his Infantry Brigades, but as neither party was desirous of attaining their ends by prosecuting the war, positive instructions were despatched to their respective officers to refrain from hostilities and to await the pacific settlement of their disputes by orders from the Peishwa.

A. D. 1793.

The result rendered Sindia all powerful in Hindostan, but he was conscious of his unpopularity in the Deccan and strove to overcome it; with this view, he had on his arrival at Poona, espoused the cause of Govind Rao Guickwar in a manner which will be hereafter explained, and upon one occasion when Nana Furnuwees during the minority of the Punt Suchew, assumed

charge of his lands, Sindia, who knew that the proceeding met with general disapprobation, interposed, conveyed the Suchew to Poona in opposition to the minister, re-established him in his possessions, and dismissed Bajee Rao Moreshwar, the agent whom Nana had placed in charge of the Suchew territory. This daring interference gave rise to a quarrel which was with difficulty appeased by the mediation of Hurry Punt Phurkay, but fresh disputes arose in consequence of Sindia's more undisguised attempts to induce the Peishwa to seek his protection. On one occasion in particular, a conversation took place in a boat at Soligaom which, being overheard and repeated, caused an immediate alarm in the mind of Nana, and he took the first opportunity of coming to an explanation with the Peishwa. He adressed himself both to his feelings and judgment, enumerated the services he had performed for him and the state, described the views of aggrandizement entertained by Sindia, pointed out his foreign troops, his departure from ancient usage, and his want of connection with the Mahratta people, over whom and the Bramin sovereignty he was bent upon establishing an absolute power. With these observations he contrasted his own situation, his inability to preserve order or resist the encroachments of Sindia, if unsupported by his Prince; and finally lamenting in tears the probable effects of the evil counsels by which he had been misled, he tendered his resignation, and declared his resolution to proceed to Benares. Mahdoo Rao was greatly affected; In a transport of grief he begged his forgiveness, entreated his stay and promised to be ever guarded in his conduct. But notwithstanding this establishment of influence, Sindia by his great power would probably have ultimately prevailed

over his rival, although the unqualified support of Hurry Punt to all the measures of the minister, the friendship of the powerful Bramin families of Rastra and Putwurdhun, together with that of the old Mankurrees, some of them great Jagheerdars, formed a strong opposition to the views of Mahadjee Sindia. But in the midst of his ambitious schemes, he was suddenly seized with a violent fever which in a few days terminated his life. He breathed his last at Wunorhee in the environs of Poona on the 12th day of February 1794.

A. D. 1794.

Mahadjee Sindia some time prior to his death, had resolved to adopt Dowlut Rao, the son of his youngest nephew Anund Rao; the ceremony of adoption had not actually taken place, but Mahadjee Sindia had repeatedly declared Dowlut Rao his heir; and although Luximee Bye, the widow of Mahadjee Sindia opposed Dowlut Rao's succession, her objections were over-ruled, as even Nana Furnuwees acceded to it. Tookajee Holkar was one of the first to acknowledge Dowlut Rao, although the dependants of Sindia's family and other Mahratta authorities sent their congratulations, so that this youth, who had scarcely attained his fifteenth year, became undisputed heir to the extensive realms of Mahadjee Sindia.

The empire founded by Sevajee now covered a vast space; and had it been possible to combine its powers, to direct advantageously the peculiar genius of his people, and to render its various parts subservient to its general strength, the Mahrattas might still have extended their conquests, and a persevering predatory warfare would probably have arrested the rapid rise of the British nation in India. But the causes which drove the

Mahrattas to predatory habits, and the circumstances which allured them to conquest, no longer existed, nor had they any chief whose authority was sufficient to unite them; they now lived under Governments of their own which were generally mild; the executive authorities, even if administered by persons tyranically disposed, were not so powerful as to become arbitrarily oppressive, and they were at the same time too feeble to call forth all the resources which smaller states better organized could have commanded. The Mahrattas were still a military people, some member of every peasant's family, and sometimes the fourth or fifth of a whole village had carried arms; persons once employed were generally ready to return to the service when required, but pitched battles and regular warfare were unsuited to their genius; the Mahratta cavalry when accustomed to depend on regular infantry and cannon, lost their former surprising activity and confidence on distant enterprizes; even their courage, which as a national virtue was very conspicuous, had fallen below its ordinary level, and whilst some among them admired the wisdom of Mahadjee Sindia, and extolled the advantages to be obtained by disciplined armies and artillery, others, as we have already mentioned, more justly predicted from the same cause, the certain overthrow of the Hindoo power. The great object however of preserving the supremacy of the Peishwa, and of giving to the Mahratta nation that common excitement of action founded on the immediate gratification of self interest, became for a short period, a point of much less difficulty than might have been anticipated; this tendency to union proceeded from the existing claims on Nizam Ally, in the settlement of which all the Mahratta chiefs

were taught to expect a part; the death of Sindia left the entire management to Nana Furnuwees, and the English adopted a neutral policy on the occasion.

We have already noticed the nature of the claims on Nizam Ally, they were outstanding balances for a series of years on account of Chouth and Surdesh-Mookhee; discussions had been occasionally agitated on the subject by the Mahrattas for the ten last years, but the alliance in which they had been associated against Tippoo had enabled Nizam Ally to procrastinate, and prevent the Mahrattas from insisting on a settlement of their affairs. In 1791 Govind Rao Kallay and Govind Rao Pingley, the Peishwa's envoys at the court of Hydrabad, had formally requested that Nizam Ally would appoint commissioners for investigating and adjusting the claims of their master. After considerable discussion, Nizam Ally delivered to these envoys a set of demands under thirty-four separate heads, chiefly regarding contributions unjustly exacted and the revenue of different places improperly taken or withheld by the Mahrattas, he also demanded reparation on account of damage sustained by the inroads of Pindharees residing within the Peishwa's boundary; to all which satisfactory replies, drawn up with remarkable clearness and ability by Nana Furnuwees, were promptly returned, followed by a set of articles twenty-eight in number, demanding the adjustment of the Mahratta claims, some of which Nana proved to have existed since 1774.

Nizam Ally was compelled to acknowledge some of these demands, others he evaded; but he promised in general terms to appoint some persons to settle the whole as soon as the war with Tippoo had terminated, hoping by that time to obtain the interpo-

sition of the English. At the close of the war in 1792, Lord Cornwallis had endeavoured to effect a treaty of guarantee, founded on that article of the alliance which regarded the assistance to be offered by the contracting parties in case of an attack upon any one of them by Tippoo, believing that by such a treaty he should render a benefit to all parties, and secure the peace of India; but it was hardly to be supposed that any Indian statesman could appreciate such a design, and accordingly each of the native courts interpreted the proposal as it appeared to affect their own interests. The Nizam saw in it a disposition to assist him, and hoped to realize his meditated scheme of raising a barrier between himself and the Mahrattas, so that he might not only resist their future encroachments but evade the present demands; at all events he had no doubt of obtaining a settlement, such as Hyder had effected with the Mahrattas, by paying a fixed tribute, and from which Tippoo by the late treaty was completely absolved. The Mahrattas on the other hand received the proposal as an arrogant assumption of authority on the part of the British Government, and it excited their jealousy as affecting the settlement of their established claims; on the propriety of resisting this interposition both Mahadjee Sindia and Nana Furnuwees concurred, but they differed in their opinions with regard to the supposed designs of the English. Sindia conjectured that they projected an alliance with Nizam Ally for the purpose of obtaining the command of the Nizam's resources and turning them against the Mahrattas, in consequence of which, for a short time previous to his death, he carried on a friendly correspondence with Tippoo Sultan. Nana Furnuwees, although he did not perceive the benevolent purpose by which Lord Corn-

wallis was actuated, took a more correct view of the subject, in supposing the English though desirous of becoming umpires, would not risk a war unless to save the Hydrabad State from being subverted; such a conquest however, even in subsequent success, Nana Furnuwees never ventured to contemplate. When the treaty of guarantee was submitted to the court of Poona, Mahadjee Sindia would have rejected it at once, but Nana being anxious to keep well with the English as a check on Sindia, without giving a direct refusal, prolonged the discussion, although with no intention of assenting to what was proposed. When Sir John Shore succeeded to the charge of the Government of British India, on the departure of the Marquis of Cornwallis in the month of August 1793, * Nizam Ally had supposed that nobleman so intent on effecting the treaty of general guarantee, that he concealed the deep interest he felt in the success of the negotiation of Poona, until he saw the prospect of its failure; he then used every argument and held forth every inducement in his power to obtain a separate treaty of guarantee for himself. Sir John Shore, however, did not think it advisable to compel the Mahrattas to accept the mediation of the British nation, and adhered to a system of neutrality for a variety of reasons which it is unnecessary to enter upon, saving to remark, that whatever might have been the apparent advantage derived from the Governor General's interference, if it had enabled Nizam Ally to effect his evasive purposes, it must have been recorded as an injustice to the Mahrattas.

From the period when the demands of the Mahrattas

* Note—Sir John Shore entered on the duties of Governor on the 28th October, 1793.

were formally received, whilst negotiations for the treaty of guarantee were in progress, Nizam Ally, probably without imagining that actual hostilities would take place, had been increasing his military force ; a body of regular infantry, which during the war with Tippoo, had consisted of two battalions under a respectable French officer named Raymond, was increased to twenty three battalions. His army was much augmented after Mahadjee Sindia's death, and he hoped in consequence of that event, the Mahrattas might be easily satisfied or successfully resisted, even if he should be unable to obtain the interposition of the English. When the envoy Govind Khallay renewed his master's demands, he produced a detailed statement showing a balance in his favour of nearly two crores and sixty lacs of rupees; warm discussion took place between the envoy and Musheer-ool-Moolk, when at last the former was told in public durbar that Nana Furnuwees must himself attend at the court of Hydrabad, in order to afford an explanation of the different items of their intricate claims, the envoy replied, "Nana Furnuwees is much engaged, how can he come ?" "how can he come !" re-echoed Musheer-ool- Moolk, "I will soon show him how he shall be brought to the presence." This menace was considered a sufficient declaration of war, and although negotiations continued to the last, both parties prepared to decide their differences by the sword.

The war whilst still at a distance, was extremely popular amongst the Moghuls ; the grand army under Nizam Ally's personal command was assembled at Beder, and the camp exhibited much bustle and animation ; the most vaunting threats were constantly heard from the ill-appointed, disorderly soldiery; Poona was to be pillaged and burned, the dancing girls already sang

the triumphs of their army, and even the prime minister declared in a public assembly "that the Moghuls should now he freed from the Mahratta encroachments, that they should recover Beejapoor and Candeish, or they would never grant peace until they had despatched the Peishwa to Benares with a cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hands, to mutter incantations on the bank of the Ganges."

The Minister at Poona was soon able to collect a very large army. No events had taken place since Sindia's death excepting such as appeared favourable to Nana's power, and the prospect of sharing in the expected advantages, brought to his standard all the chiefs whose attendance was of any consequence. Dowlut Rao Sindia and Tookajee Holkar were already at Poona, and the Rajah of Berar on route to join; Govind Rao Guikwar sent a detachment of his troops; the great southern Jagheerdarse omprising the Bramin families of Putwurdhun and Rastia, the Bramin Jagheerdars of Malligaum and Vinchoor, the Pretee Needhee, the Punt Suchew, the Mahratta Maunkarees, Nimbalkur, Ghatkay, Duflay, Powar, Thorat and Pahtunkur, with many others less conspicious, attended the summons. But this was the last time the chiefs of the Mahratta nation assembled under the authority of the Peishwa.

A. D. 1795. Nizam Ally was first in the field and slowly advanced from Beder along the banks of the Manjera towards the Mahratta frontier; the Peishwa quitted Poona in January and his army marched at the same time, but by different routes for the convenience of procuring forage; there were upwards of one hundred and thirty thousand horse and foot in the Mahratta camp exclusive of ten thousand

Pindaries; of this force upwards of one half * were either paid from the Peishwa's treasury or were troops of Jagheerdars under his direct control. Dowlut Rao's force was more numerous and more efficient than that of any other chieftain, although the greater part of his army remained in Hindostan and Malwa. Jooba Bukhsee commanded immediately under Dowlut Rao, and had joined him with a reinforcement, the whole consisting of twenty five thousand men, of whom ten thousand were regular infantry, under De Boigne's second in command, Monsieur Perrou. Rughojee Bhonslay mustered fifteen thousand horse and foot; Tookajee Holkar had only ten thousand, but of these two thousand were regulars under Dudunac, and most of the Pindharees were followers of Holkar; Pureshram Bhow had seven thousand men.

Nana Furnuwees consulted the chief officers separately; he appointed Pureshram Bhow to act as Commander-in-Chief: the Pindaries and other horse were ordered on to plunder in the neighbourhood of the † Moghul camp, and destroy their forage; the heavy baggage, properly protected, remained one march in the rear, and the best of the horse with the regular infantry supported by upwards of one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, were sent forward to attack Nizam Ally, who had an army amounting in all to one hundred and ten thousand men, advancing towards Kurdla.

As we are not here writing a history of the Mahratta war it is unnecessary to follow the army through the operations that followed; suffice it to say that on the

Auber.

* The force of the Peishwa was estimated at 73,000 cavalry, 38,000 Infantry, and 192 guns.

† Note.—This was the advice of Sooba Bukshee and Tookajee Holkar.

15th March, Nizam Ally having been completely defeated, solicited and obtained a cessation of arms. The preliminary demand made by the Mahrattas, was the surrender of the minister Musheer-ool-Moolk; that amends might be made for the insult offered to the Peishwa in threatening to seize Nana Furnuwees, they next exacted territorial cessions extending along the frontier from the district of Perunda on the south, to the Taptee river on the north, comprehending the fort of Doulatabad and such parts of those districts, formerly conquered by Sewdasheo Rao Bhow in 1760, as had been restored to Nizam Ally ; three crores of Rupees were promised on account of arrears of revenue and expenses of the war ; besides which, by a separate agreement, Nizam Ally ceded territory yielding three lacs and eighteen thousand rupees in lieu of Rhugojee Bhonslay's claims for Ghasdana in Gungthuree, estimated at three and a half lacs annually. Nizam Ally also promised to pay up the arrears due to Rughojee Bhonslay, amounting to twenty-nine lacs, and to collect their respective shares of revenue in Berar, according to ancient usage, for all which the Peishwa afterwards became Rughojee's guarantee.

It was with extreme reluctance that Nizam Ally agreed to surrender the person of his minister; but Musheer-ool-Moolk urged him to the measure, especially as under the circumstances in which they found themselves, they did not consider the other conditions so immoderate as might have been expected.

The minister was therefore delivered over to a party of two hundred Mahrattas, by whom he was escorted to their camp. The Peishwa met him at the outskirts, and received him with distinction, but his person was carefully guarded. The Mahrattas were overjoyed by

this triumph, but a remark of the young Peishwa, when rallied by Nana Furnuwees on the melancholy which his countenance betrayed at the time of Musheer-ool Moolk's arrival, was as just as interesting : " I grieve, said he, to observe such degeneracy as there must be on both sides, when such a disgraceful submission has been made by the Moghuls, and our soldiers are vaunting of a victory obtained without an effort." There were scarcely two hundred men lost by both these two great armies in the engagement, though considerable numbers of the Moghuls were killed in the subsequent confusion, but to this day it is one of the greatest boasts of the old Silladars in the Mahratta villages, that they were present in the glorious field of Khurdla. *

On the return of the Peishwa to Poona, Nana Furnuwees was employed in distributing the late acquisition and in settling various affairs with the different chiefs. Pureshram Bhow and Rughojee Bhonslay remained in the neighbourhood of the capital, but Holkar and Sindia encamped at some distance from them, the former at Jeejoory, and the latter at Jamgaom, until news arrived of Alijah's rebellion (who had rebelled against his father† Nizam Ally) when they both repaired to Poona, with what views is not ascertained, nor is there any proof that the Mahrattas were instrumental to the rebellion, although it was suspected by Nizam Ally

* By the treaty of Khurdla, the Mahrattas gained an accession of wealth, territory and reputation, with an influence and control over the Nizam, from which at that moment there was little prospect of his emancipation. Auber.

† Mr. Raymond undertook to repress this rebellion: he followed the prince to Beder, pursued him to Aurungabad, took him prisoner and was bringing him to Hydrabad; but Alijah, unable to face his father, put an end to his own existence by poison before they reached the Capital.

himself, and has been affirmed by Moghul historians. By the middle of September, Dowlut Rao had obtained his audience of leave and proceeded to Jamgaom on his route to Hindostan ; Pureshram Bhow had returned to his family Jagheer at Tasgaom ; Holkar continued in Poona, where Rughojee Bhonslay also remained until the middle of October when he was dismissed with great honours, receiving new Sunnuds for a portion of territory lying on the south side of the Nerbuddah. Nana Furnuwees was now at the summit of prosperity ; without the intervention of a foreign power he had obtained every object of his ambition. Dowlut Rao Sindia was favorably disposed towards him, and his ministers and officers were more intent on forwarding their own particular views in the Government of their young master, than in schemes for controlling the Poona court. Tookajee Holkar had become imbecile both in mind and body, and his officers were subservient to Nana. Rughojee Bhonslay was completely secured in his interests, and the Bramin Jagheerdars were of his party. The Peishwa's Government had thus every prospect of regaining the tone and vigour it had possessed under the great Mahdoo Rao, but Nana's fondness of power and his anxiety to preserve it, brought on a catastrophe which speedily undermined his life, and terminated his days in trouble and misery.

A. D. 1795.

Although the young Peishwa was now in his twenty-first year, Nana Furnuwees relaxed nothing of the rigid tutelage in which he had reared him ; and the old minister became more than ever watchful of all the state prisoners whose liberty might endanger his own power. He was apprehensive that Mahadjee Sindia had intended to use the Raja of Sattara as an instrument in overthrowing the

Bramin's Government, and he now treated the object of his dread with more than ordinary severity, by diminishing his allowances and prohibiting his relations from visiting him in the Fort.

The family of Rugonath Rao were kept at Kopergaon until the year 1793, when they were removed to Anundwelee near Nassick, as a place more agreeable to the widow Anundee Bye, whose health was on the decline. In the month of April of the succeeding year she died. The sons, Bajee Rao and Chimnajee Appa with the adopted son of Rugoba Amrut Rao, remained at Anundwelee; until, upon the prospect of hostilities with Nizam Ally, they were conveyed to the hill fort of Sewneree, where once secured, Nana Furnuwees, at the termination of the war, retained them in close custody under two officers in whom he confided, Rughoo Punt Ghorebulay and Bulwunt Rao Rugonath.

The condition of these young men, excited strong feeling of commiseration even in the minds of those who judged it necessary; and others swayed chiefly by their feelings, execrated the conduct of the minister as cruel, vindictive and unjustifiable. Distinct from either of these classes was the old faction of Rugoba and other persons wholly discontented, who endeavoured by every means to exalt the character of the prisoners and lower the reputation of Nana Furnuwees. But these indications of the public mind only increased the wary circumspection of the minister, and the elder of the legitimate sons of Rugonath Rao early became an object of jealousy. Graceful in person, with a handsome and youthful countenance which ensured favorable impressions, Bajee Rao had the mildest manner, and an address so insinuating that he gained the good

will of all who approached him; his bodily and mental accomplishments were equally extolled; at the age of nineteen he was an excellent horseman, skilled in the use of the sword and bow, and allowed to be a most expert spearsman. He was deeply read in the Shasters, particularly in such parts as regard the observances of the east, and of his age no pundit so learned had been known in Maharastra.

The young Peishwa, so far from being jealous of the superior accomplishments of his cousin, was pleased with hearing him commended, and frequently expressed a strong desire to procure his enlargement and cultivate his friendship. In vain did the cautious Nana Furnuwees advise him to beware of the sapling, however comely he might be, which sprung from the weakness of Rugonath Rao and the wickedness of Annunt Bye; the greater the restraint the stronger the inclination. But Mahdoo Rao was watched and Bajee Rao was a close prisoner. The latter however, having discovered the favorable disposition of the Peishwa towards him, and having at length gained Bulwunt Rao Rugonath, he conveyed a message with assurances of respect and attachment, adding that he was in confinement at Sewneree, and the Peishwa under the control of his minister; that their condition as prisoners was nearly the same, but that their minds and affections were free, and should be devoted to each other; that their ancestors had distinguished themselves, and that the time would arrive, when his cousin and himself might hope to emulate their deeds and raise for themselves a lasting and honorable name. This message was the commencement of a correspondence which began shortly after the return of the army to Poona, and continued for some time, till at length it came to

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

the knowledge of Nana, who betrayed a rage altogether unusual at the discovery. He immediately threw Bulwunt Rao Rugonath into a Hill Fort loaded with irons, severely reproached Mahdoo Rao, and rendered the strictness of Bajee Rao's confinement far more rigid than before. Mahdoo Rao, already galled by restraint and irritated by the insidious messages of his cousin, was overwhelmed with anger, disappointment and grief. He refused absolutely to quit his apartment, and his absence from his usual place at the durbar was imputed to fever. On the Dussera which happened on the 22d October and was conducted with great splendour, he appeared amongst his troops, and in the evening received his chiefs and the ambassadors at his Court in the usual manner. But his spirit was wounded to desperation, a fixed melancholy seized on his mind, and on the morning of the 25th of October he deliberately threw himself from a terrace in his palace, fractured two of his limbs and was much wounded by the tube of a fountain on which he fell. He desired that Bajee Rao should succeed him ; he expired in the arms of Baboo Rao Phurkay, for whom he had entertained a great affection.

The death of Mahdoo Rao was an event of such awful importance to the political existence of Nana Furnuwees, that the consideration of its consequences withdrew his mind from the deep affliction which the untimely end of that amiable young prince would have disposed him to indulge. He carefully suppressed the request of Mahdoo Rao in his cousin's favor, dreading that by such an arrangement he should not only be deprived of power, but perhaps of liberty and life. His first care on hearing the nature of the accident was to send off notice to Pureshram Bhow, requiring his imme-

THE MIND
ALMOFLIAN

diate presence at Poona with every man he could collect; and the day after the Peishwa's death, Rughojee Bhonslay and Dowlut Rao Sindia were recalled for the purpose of deliberating on the succession to the musnud. Tookajee Holkar being in Poona, immediately visited the minister, who not only made use of all the popular prejudice which existed against the name of Rugonath Rao, but described the enmity which, from the first dawning of reason, had been instilled into Bajee Rao by his mother against the whole of those officers who had now any experience in the affairs of the state; he showed the danger to be apprehended from the connection between his family and the English, dwelt upon the happy state of prosperity and union which then prevailed in the Mahratta empire, and enlarged on the increasing benefits to be expected if the existing course of policy were carefully preserved. In these sentiments Holkar concurred, and the disposition of the other chiefs being sounded, Nana ventured to disclose his plans, by suggesting that Yessooda Bye the widow of the deceased prince, who had not yet attained the age of puberty, should adopt a son, in whose name he proposed to conduct the government as heretofore. Some objections were raised by Balloba Tattya one of Sindia's principal ministers, but they were overruled by his colleague in office, Jooba Bukshee, who observed that their master was too young to be able to judge for himself, but he thought his safest course was to be guided by the experience of the oldest chiefs, and to follow the example of Tookajee Holkar. At length after some discussion, the consent of the principal chiefs was obtained in writing, and in the month of January they again retired from Poona.

A. D. 1796.

In the preceding November, Mr. Malet, the Resident on the part of the British Government, had made a formal application to the minister for the purpose of ascertaining on what footing the Mahratta Government was to be conducted. Nana Furnuwees replied, that the widow of the late Peishwa was to be considered head of the empire until the great officers of the nation had deliberated upon the succession, when the result should be communicated. He now therefore intimated their resolution that the widow should adopt a son, to which no objection on the part of Mr. Malet could be offered, and nothing now was apparently required except the selection of a child and the performance of the ceremony. But Bajee Rao, who had obtained information of the whole proceeding by which he was thus unjustly to be deprived of his right, gave a further specimen of his talent for intrigue, by immediately taking advantage of the favorable disposition evinced towards him by Balloba Tattya, opening a correspondence with him, and in a few months gaining him over to his cause. This union was the more important to Bajee Rao as the death of Jooba Bukshee had taken place a short time previously, and on his deathbed he sent for Dowlut Rao, and expressed his regret for having advised him to accede to the plan of adoption whilst a lineal descendant of Ballajee Wishwanath remained. Having secured the Prime Minister, Bajee Row next addressed himself to Sindia, offering him four lacs of rupees of territory, and whatever might be the expenses of his troops during the time he should require their aid in asserting his lawful succession to the musnud. The offer was accepted and a formal agreement was drawn up, but it was scarcely concluded when the whole was divulged to Nana Furnuwees. In

the greatest alarm, the minister instantly summoned Pureshram Bhow, who marched from Tasgaom to Poona with a body of horse in forty-eight hours, a distance of upwards of one hundred and twenty English miles. After some deliberation it was resolved to anticipate Sindia's design, to release Bajee Rao and declare him Peishwa. Pureshram Bhow accordingly proceeded to the fort of Sewneree and made his proposals. Amrut Rao advised his brother not to accept them, observing, that these offers were but certain indications of Sindia's sincerity. Bajee Rao did not rely on the good will of either party beyond the dictates of their interests, and if assured of attaining his object he would not have hesitated. He however urged many objections, though only for the purpose of obtaining satisfactory assurances; with this view, amongst other solemn asseverations, he obliged Pureshram Bhow to hold the tail of a cow, and swear by the holy Godavery that no deception was intended, after which he decended from the fort, and accompanied by his brother Chimnajee Appa set out for his future capital. Amrut Rao, by Pureshram Bhow's order, was detained in custody at Sewneree. Immediately on Bajee Rao's arrival at Poona he had an interview with Nana Furnuwees when they mutually promised to bury all traces of enmity in oblivion, and Bajee Rao on being assured of the succession, promised to retain Nana at the head of his administration; to this both parties exchanged formal declarations in writing.

The following is a translation of that which was given by Bajee Rao to Nana Furnuwees; "In the presence of my God, and from the inmost recesses of my heart, I have rooted out every vestige of any former act, let all our future conduct he guided by the princi-

ples of good faith ; I will never injure you or yours by word or deed, by any inward thought or outward act ; neither will I allow any other person to do so, on this point I will be inflexible, and will pay no attention to the suggestions of others. I will not allow your reputation to be sullied, and should any one attempt to instil any thing of the kind into my mind I will point him out to you. I will never release any one from confinement without your advice, all state affairs shall be managed by our conjunct counsel; from this day all your acts are mine, suspicion is wholly eradicated from my heart." Balloba Tattya on hearing of the step which Bajee Rao had taken, was incensed at his conduct, but determined to counteract the schemes of Nana Furnuwees. He therefore persuaded Sindia, who was then on the banks of the Godavery, to march on Poona with his whole force. Nana Furnuwees was dismayed ; Puresham Bhow advised him to stand firm and to collect troops and give battle, but Nana deficient in personal courage, was also sensible of the superiority of Sindia's army ; he could not trust Bajee Rao, and he was terrified lest he should fall into the hands of Balloba Tattya by whom he believed he should be put to death.

Having therefore left Pureshram Bhow with Bajee Rao at Poona, he told the latter that as Sindia was advancing with intentions only hostile towards himself, he thought the best means of averting ruinous civil dissensions, was for him to retire from business by withdrawing from the capital. He accordingly repaired first to Poorundhur and afterwards to Sattara. Sindia arrived in the neighbourhood of Poona and had a friendly interview with Bajee Rao, but Balloba Tattya, although he affected to meet him with cordiality, could

not forget his behaviour, especially after he had seen Anunt Rao, whom he removed from Sewneree to Jamgaom, but did not restore him to liberty.

After considering various plans, Ballojee Tattya at last resolved to set aside Bajee Rao, and to raise both a minister and Peishwa of his own; for which purpose he proposed to Pureshram Bhow, through Bhyroo Punt Mhaindlee, that Mahdoo Rao's widow should adopt Chimnajee Appa as her son; that Bajee Rao should be placed in confinement and that Pureshram Bhow should conduct the administration.

Pureshram Bhow had begun to despise Nana Furnuwees for his pusillanimous conduct, but he still so far respected his wisdom as to ask his opinion. Nana advised him to accept what was proposed but to take care that Bajee Rao came into his custody. To this last essential part of the advice no attention was paid by Pureshram Bhow; Balloba Tattya pretended to be partly influenced in the measure he now pursued by the hope of rendering it in some degree acceptable to Nana Furnuwees, lest the latter in the present state of Dowlut Rao's inexperience should form some confederacy by means of the other chiefs against the house of Sindia, Balloba accordingly as soon as Nana's assent had been obtained, made overtures for a reconciliation, to which the latter made no objections.

Nana's own proceedings in the mean time deserve notice. When he quitted Poorundhur and repaired to Sattara he entertained some design of emancipating the Raja and restoring the old form of Sivajee's Government, as a plan calculated to avert the dissensions that had arisen, and which were likely to increase, in the state, but a very few days convinced him of the futility of this scheme. The Raja in consequence of the treatment he

had experienced, had no confidence in him; the Raja's name was sufficiently popular to have brought many of the most warlike Mahratta families to his standard, and have awakened a powerful interest amongst the descendants of the first followers of Sivajee. The Raja, though incapable of conducting state affairs himself, was a man of courage, and several of his relations were fit leaders for any dangerous enterprize, but Nana's object was to devise some means of establishing a controlling authority over the chiefs of the empire, not to stir up a power subversive of all order. After a few conferences he desisted, and retired to Waee, a town in the neighborhood, but his having entertained such a scheme, was so far fortunate for the Raja, that he was indulged in a little more liberty and was treated with greater kindness and consideration.

When Nana Furnuwees consented to the proposal of Balloba Tattya for adopting Chimnajee Appa, it became necessary to obtain the Raja's khillut of investiture for the new Peishwa; on which occasion Nana came from Waee to Sattara, and on receiving the khillut, promised, that if he ever had an opportunity, he would endeavour to fulfil the agreement made with Ram Raja in the time of Ballajee Bajee Rao, by putting the present Raja Shao in possession of the territory promised by the treaty of Sangola.

Nana would have proceeded to Poona, but on finding that Purẹshram Bhow had allowed Sindia's minister to retain the person of Bajee Rao, he suspected, and with reason, that the whole was a scheme to entice him into the power of Balloba Tattya; and therefore although he forwarded the khillut, he himself remained at Waee. Bajee Rao was still ignorant of the plot which had been formed against him, and the manner of disclosing

it is too characteristic, not only of the period, but of the future ways of the Poona Court, to be omitted. Some demands for money on account of Sindia's expenses were made on Bajee Rao; and upon his expressing his inability to comply with them, they were urged in a tone which produced altercation, and Sindia pretending to take offence at the manner of Bajee Rao's refusal, begged permission to return to Hindostan. Bajee Rao, as had been foreseen, immediately repaired to Sindia's army for the purpose of privately expostulating; he was there detained in argument until late in the evening, when the conference was suddenly interrupted by intelligence of Pureshram Bhow's having carried off Chimnajee Appa; no one it was pretended knew whither, but it was supposed to Sattara. Bajee Rao alarmed and astonished, begged of Sindia to pursue him, but the uncertainty of their route, the strength of their party, and the darkness of the night, prevented the request being complied with. Next day he discovered the snare, and was advised to remain where he was, as any place beyond the precincts of Sindia's camp was unsafe for his Highness. In the meantime Pureshram Bhow and Baboo Rao Phurkay had merely conveyed Chimnajee Appa into the city of Poona, but Chimnajee positively refused to become a party in the unjust usurpation of his brother's rights, and compulsion only induced him to bear his share in it. He was adopted under the name of Chimnajee Mahdoo Rao, and formally invested as Peishwa on the 26th May.

The pecuniary difficulties of Sindia, and the distress of his army were not fictions. Pureshram Bhow on being appointed minister had promised to raise money, and for this purpose offered to restore the minister of Nizam Ally, Musheer-ool-Moolk, to liberty, on condition

of receiving a portion of the balance of three crores of rupees due by the treaty of Kundla, Musheer-ool-Moolk said he could only use his endeavours; but upon this promise he was released from confinement, permitted to encamp in the environs of the city and in a short time was surrounded by a considerable retinue.

The day after the installation of the new Peishwa, Pureshram Bhow proposed that Nana Furnuwees should come to Poona, meet and be reconciled to Balloba Tattya, and afterwards assume the civil administration in the new Peishwa's Government, whilst the command of the troops and military arrangements should remain with himself. In reply to this proposal, Nana Furnuwees requested that Pureshram Bhow's eldest son Hurry Punt, might be sent to Waee for the purpose of clearly settling some preliminaries, but instead of coming as an envoy, Hurry Punt crossed the Neera at the head of four or five thousand chosen horse, a circumstance that naturally in itself excited suspicion, which was strengthened by a secret letter from Baboo Rao Phurkay advising him to seek his own safety without a moment's delay.

The fortunes of Nana Furnuwees were now in general opinion, and perhaps in his own, desperate, but on being forced to abandon half measures, into which he was misled through his timid dispositon, the vigour of his judgment, the fertility of his expedients, the extent of his influence, and the combination of instruments which he called into action surprised all India, and from his European contemporaries, procured for him the name of the "Mahratta Machiavel."

When he saw the danger imminent, he immediately fled from Waee towards the Concan, blocked up the passes in his rear, and on arriving at the village of

Mhar, his first care was to put the Fort of Kailghur into the best state of defence. Balloba Tattya proposed that he should be followed up without delay, and offered some of Sindia's regular Infantry for the purpose, but Pureshram Bhow, influenced by secret well-wishers of Nana's, objected to the employment of coercive measures, although his hostility to Nana Furnuwees was soon after avowed, by his giving up Nana's Jagheer lands to Sindia and sequestrating his houses and property in Poona for his own use. The ostensible property of Nana Furnuwees however was but an insignificant proportion to the extent of his concealed wealth. It is a common report that he carried with him when he quitted Poona, hoards of gold, the accumulated treasures of the Peishwa's, but as already stated on the authority of their accounts, the Peishwas up to the time of the first Mahdoo Rao, were in debt and were always embarrassed, so that the riches of Nana Furnuwees which were, without doubt, considerable, must have been saved during his own administration; his funds were secretly deposited in different places or lodged in the hands of agents in various parts of India; so that he could command them with promptitude in case of emergency, but the secret of their deposit, and of his management, remains in a mystery, a subject of some curiosity and the theme of many wonders and impositions amongst the Mahratta vulgar.

The Revolution which had taken place, naturally tended to unite Bajee Rao and Nana Furnuwees, and a secret intercourse was carried on between them through the medium of an individual who afterwards became conspicuous. In the service of Nana Poorundhuree there was a Mahratta Silladar, the natural son of the patell of the village of Mangapoor near Punder-

poor, who had contrived to attract the notice of Bajee Rao when he was taken from confinement at Sewneree, and who was afterwards permitted by Nana Poorundhuree to enter Bajee Rao's service. Ballajee Koonjar, for such was the name of the Silladar, perceiving the situation of affairs, although he had little opportunity of consulting his master, visited Nana Furnuwees at Mhar, and conveyed the most friendly declarations and assurances on the part of Bajee Rao, begging Nana to exert himself in their mutual behalf; no excitement to exertion was necessary, Nana Furnuwees had every engine at work; Baboo Rao Phurkay in command of the Peishwa's household troops, had engaged to bring them over to him, Tookajee Holkar's whole power and influence were ready at his signal, and he had opened a negotiation with Sindia through Ryajee Patell, whom he knew to be inimical to Balloba Tattya, offering to Sindia the Jagheer of Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun, the fort of Ahmednuggur with territory yielding ten lacs of rupees, on condition that he would place Balloba Tattya in confinement, establish Bajee Rao on the musnud, and return with his army to Hindostan. Thus far of his plans Nana Furnuwees communicated to Ballajee Koonjar for Bajee Rao's information. This period of the revolution brought many persons into notice although none so obscure as the individual just mentioned; of these, one of the most conspicuous was the person employed by Nana Furnuwees to negotiate with Ryajee Patell in order to bring over Sindia; the name of this man was Sukaram Ghatkay of the Kagul family, whose ancient title, as already mentioned, was Shirnee Rao.

Sukaram having had a quarrel with his relations and Yeswunt Rao Ghatkay, the brother-in-law of the Raja

of Sholapoor, concerning the hereditary rights in their native village, took up arms to ressist them. Sukaram being defeated was obliged to fly from the Kolapoor territory and seek shelter with Pureshram Bhow in whose service he entered, and afterwards exchanged it for that of Nana Furnuwees who gave him the command of one hundred horse. When Nana quitted Poona, Sukaram Ghatkay entered Sindia's service where he obtained a similar command. He was of an active, bold, intriguing disposition, and by his address had gained the good will of Ryajee Patell. He was also at this time much courted by Sindia, by reason of the reputed beauty of his daughter, whom Sindia wished to espouse, and Sukaram who regarded his own aggrandisement more than the dignity of his house, which would be tarnished by his giving a genuine daughter of Kagulkur Ghatkay to the spurious offspring of the Patell of Kunnur Kheir, was pleased with the prospect of the alliance, though, to enhance the favor of ultimate compliance, he raised numerous objections to the match. By the aid of such an agent, Nana Furnuwees was successful in gaining over Sindia to his cause; and this secret having been communicated to Baboo Rao Phurkay and others of the party they became less circumspect in their preparation. Bajee Rao in the midst of Sindia's camp assisted by his father's friend Seetaram Manajee Phakray used supplies of money furnished by Nana Furnuwees in levying troops in that situation, Bajee Rao at this time was twenty-five years of age, light complexioned and rather above the middle size, his person graceful, and his manner strongly impressive, his countenance manly, sensible and majestic.

Manajee Phakray is described as an officer of high military reputation, and so disfigured with wounds, as

to have scarcely the appearance of a human creature. Manajee, says the old Silladar of the present day, was the last of the Mahrattas and was worthy to wear a bangle on his horse's leg for he never showed his back to foe.

These imprudent proceedings were discovered by Balloba Tattya, Baboo Rao Phurkay was seized and imprisoned in the fort of Chakun, but his Carkoon Naroo Punt Chakurdeo, a very active officer, escaped by concealing himself in the camp of Musheer-ool-Moolk. Neelkunt Rao Purbhoo and Ballajee Ghorpuray, two chiefs of their party, had a few minutes to prepare for defence, they repulsed the troops sent to apprehend them, and at the head of a few followers made good their retreat from Poona to the strong range of hills south of the Neera.

Bajee Rao's place of encampment within Sindia's lines, was surrounded and water was cut off, the troops he had collected were allowed to disperse, but Manajee Pharkay enjoined them to meet him in the neighbourhood of Waee where they assembled accordingly, and were promptly joined by Neelkunt Rao and Mallojee Ghorpuray. Nana Furnuwees supplied them with money and directed them to take up a position at the Salpee Ghaut, where, being assisted by Nana's friend Bujaba Seroolkur in raising troops, they now collected ten thousand men, upon which they declared for Bajee Rao.

Ballojee Tattya, unconscious of the inextricable and extensive toils which Nana was weaving around him, attributed the whole plot to Bajee Rao, and therefore determined to send him off a prisoner to Hindostan. He was despatched accordingly under care of Sukaram Ghatkay to whom the command of his escort was entrusted, but Bajee Rao, aware of the most likely way of

gaining Sindia, employed all his eloquence to induce Ghatkay to give his daughter to Sindia in marriage, on condition of Bajee Rao's being elevated to the musnud, and of preventing his being carried out of the Deccan, lest Nana Furnuwees, even if successful, should take advantage of his absence to exclude him from the succession. Ghatkay at first declared it to be impossible, but at last pretending to be won over, he agreed to give his daughter on the following conditions; that Bajee Rao should authorize him to promise Sindia two crores of rupees in ready money on his becoming Peishwa; that when Peishwa, he should get him (Ghatkay) appointed Sindia's Prime Minister, and that he should also endeavour to obtain for him the village of Kagal in enaum. Having assented to these conditions, Bajee Rao feigned sickness, and Ghatkay remained with him on the banks of the Paira river.

At Poona great preparations were going forward. Musheer-ool-Moolk was permitted by Pureshram Bhow to raise troops for the purpose, as the former pretended, of assisting to reduce Nana Furnuwees and the force which had declared for Bajee Rao, Holkar and Sindia's troops were held in readiness apparently for the same purpose, and after the Dussera, which happened on the 11th October, the regular battalions in the Peishwa's service under Mr. Boyd, marched to the Neera bridge and a brigade of Sindia's regulars proceeded towards Raigurh, these movements were made by Pureshram Bhow himself, as artfully suggested by some conspirators in order to veil the deception about to be practised on him and Balloba Tattya.

The schemes of Nana Furnuwees were now secure. In addition to what has been explained he had invit-

ed the Raja of Kolapoor, to attack the districts of Pureshram Bhow; he had obtained Nizam Ally's approbation of the draft of a treaty, afterwards brought to a conclusion on the 8th October, with Musheer-ool-Moolk, the basis of which was to be, the establishment of Bajee Rao as Peishwa on the musnud, and his own re-establishment as minister, for which the territory added to the Peishwa by the convention of Khundla was to be restored, and the balance of the stipulated money payment to be remitted; the entire remission of the chouth of Beder was also demanded by Nizam Ally, but Nana Furnuwees declared that he could not yield that point without the previous sanction of Bajee Rao, to whose approval indeed the whole was decidedly subject.

The preliminary of this treaty set forth, that confusion having arisen in the affairs of the Peishwa, Nana Furnuwees had retired to Mahr for the purpose of restoring order, he as chief director of the affairs of the Peishwa, calls for the interposition of Nizam Ally through his prime minister Musheer-ool-Moolk, with whom he concluded the following treaty: Nizam Ally is to send an army of fifteen thousand men with a train of artillery to unite with those of Nana and Rugojee Bhonslay in restoring Bajee Rao. In this alliance Nana engages for the neutrality and even for the probable co-operation of the English. The territory and the bills for the money payment exacted from Nizam Ally at Kundla to be restored; Nizam Ally's right to certain districts near Delhi to be confirmed; all contested points to be mutually relinquished and the Mahratta claims settled annually; the chouth of the Soubah of Beder being considered as the wutun or private hereditary

property of the Peishwa, Nana Furnuwees can only recommend it being conceded to Nizam Ally by Bajee Rao; two lacs of rupees to be advanced to Nizam Ally for expenses. The English to be engaged by Nana Furnuwees to interpose, in case Tippoo should attack the possesions of Nizam Ally, whilst the army of the latter is employed in the Mahratta terrtories. Fugitives from the dominions of Nizam Ally to be given up and Bajee Rao's signature to these articles to be obtained.

A negotiation with Rugojee Bhonslay had been equally successful to him. Nana promised fifteen lacs of Rupees for his immediate expenses, the district of Mundelah, and the fort of Chooreeagurh with its dependencies; the thousand horse which he was bound by treaty to furnish when required, were now only to be called for on emergencies; some other advantages were also held out and Rugojee had solemnly promised his support.

The principal powers having been thus secured, the English also having expressed their approbation of Bajee Rao's proposed elevation to the Musnud, Sindia on the 27th October sent a body of his troops, accompained by some belonging to Musheer-ool-Moolk, both parties under the command of Narroo Punt Chakurdeo, for the purpose of seizing Pureshram Bhow. Naroo Punt however, being desirous of apprizing one of his associates named Purushram Punt Wydh, wrote Nana a note which was carried by mistake to Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun, the latter on reading it, instantly got ready a body of horse and having taken with him Chimnajee Appa fled with precipitation to Sewneeree, but he was quickly pursued and compelled to surrender. Anund Rao Rastia having become security for his safe custody, he was delivered over to his charge;

Bajee Rao was now brought back, and encamped at Korygaum on the Beema, eighteen miles from Poona. Anunt Rao and Baboo Rao Phurkay were released, and Nana Furnuwees, having joined his army at the Salpee Ghaut, the Infantry under Mr. Boyd having likewise placed themselves under his orders commenced his march for the capital. But on route, having received a note from Bajee Rao which hinted at the tardiness of his proceedings, he immediately took the alarm, and before he would advance, insisted on receiving a written declaration form Bajee Rao that he intended no treachery towards him and that in case of desiring to resign his situation as minister he might be permitted to retire, when his personal property would be secure. A treaty of guarantee was at the same time entered into by Nizam Ally and Sindia, agreeing to establish Bajee Rao on the musnud and to reinstate Nana Furnuwees as prime minister, but they also, with a view of securing themselves, agreed to oblige the latter to fulfil the articles of the respective treaties which he had made with them, an extraordinary oversight on the part of Sindia who does not appear to have known the particulars of the agreement with Nizam Ally, or at all events to have considered how much he would become a loser by the relinquishment of the territory and arrears of tribute obtained by the treaty of Kundla. These preliminaries being adjusted, Nana Furnuwees returned to Poona and resumed the duties of prime minister on the 25th November.

The insignia of investiture having been procured from Sattara, Bajee Rao was at last seated on the musnud on the 4th December 1796. It was declared by a council of Shastrees, that the relationship between the late Peishwa Mahdoo Rao

A. D. 1796.

Narrain and the sons of Rugonath Rao, prevented the widow of the former from adopting the second cousin of his father, the adoption was therefore declared illegal, and annulled; the Shastrees who had performed the ceremony were expelled. Chimnajee Appa though he had acted on compulsion was obliged to undergo some penance to atone for the deed, but he was shortly afterward appointed by his brother to the Government of Guzerat, which was merely nominal and the active duties of it were performed by his deputy. Nana Furnuwees was assisted in the ministry by Trimbuck Rao Pursooree, and Naroo Punt Chukurdeo had chief command of the army, which from the late dissensions was in a very disordely state, and one desperate fight took place in the streets of Poona between a body of Arabs and a party of Mr. Boyd's sepoys, in which upwards of a hundred persons were killed, and a great number of the shops and warehouses in the Bazar plundered during the tumult.

The Fort of Ahmednuggur and the dependent districts were made over to Sindia as promised, and he was left at liberty to reduce the Jagheer of Pureshram Bhow as he might find opportunity. The articles with Rughojee Bhonslay were also fulfilled, upon which he started for Nagpore, but Bajee Rao refused to ratify the treaty of Mahr concluded with Nizam Ally unless greatly modified, in consequence of which Musheer-ool-Moolk quitted Poona without taking leave of the Peishwa and returned highly incensed to Hydrabad. There was at that time no envoy at the Nizam's Court, Govind Rao Pingley was at Poona, but his agent named Sewdasheo Mankesur—a person whom we shall hereafter have frequent occasion to notice, and whom

Pingley kept at the Court of Nizam Ally in the humble capacity of a newswriter—was recommended by Pingley to Nana Furnuwees as a fit agent to sooth Musheer-ool-Moolk and prevent the interruption of the amicable intercourse which it was so important to Nana to preserve; the difference however which thus arose, Bajee Rao was at no pains to adjust, it weakened the confederacy which Nana had formed and the great power he so lately combined was still more shaken by the death of Tookajee Holkar on the 15th August. Holkar left two legitimate sons, Khassee Rao and Mulhar Rao, and two by a concubine, Yeswant Rao and Wittojee Khasee Rao who was imbecile both in mind and body, but Mulhar Rao was in every respect qualified to support the fortunes of his house. Disputes soon arose between the brothers, in which the illegitimate sons took the part of Mulhar Rao, who in a few days removed from his father's camp with a small body of troops and took up his abode at Bambooree, a village in the suburbs of Poona, where he was secretly watched by Sindia who, on being solicited by Khassee Rao, readily afforded the aid of a body of troops for the purpose of apprehending Mulhar Rao, who refusing to surrender was attacked and maintained a desperate defence until he was killed. His half brothers made their escape, Yeswunt Rao to Nagpore and Wittojee to Kolapore, but most of his associates fell with him, and amongst others Ravee Rao of Lunee, a gallant soldier whose fate was rendered more memorable from the fatal effects which the communication of the news had on his widow, who on being informed of his death dropped dead on the instant.

The assistance thus rendered by Sindia to a person of such a character as Khassee Rao, rendered the house of Holkar for a time subservient to that of Sindia, and was a deathblow to the power of Nana Furnuwees; Sindia further secured his advantage by having Khandee Rao the infant son of the deceased Mulhar Rao kept in safe custody.

The interference of Sindia in the state affairs of Poona, which Bajee Rao with a great want of foresight secrectly encouraged, soon tended to acts of severity, some of which were of a nature more arbitrary than had ever been practised by the Peishwa's Government; the circumstances particularly alluded to, were the capture of the Fort of Colaba, the imprisonment of Mannajee Angria, and the transfer of that principality to Baboo Rao Angria, Sindia's near relation.

The odium of such a violent and partial proceeding did not attach to Bajee Rao; his appearance and misfortunes continued to attract sympathy, and the control by which the supposed goodness of his natural disposition was repressed, became matter of general regret. Mr. Malet however, the acting resident at Poona, seems at this early period to have discovered much of his real character, and it soon appeared that the opinion entertained of Bajee Rao's goodness and wisdom, was in fact but a proof of his dissimulation and cunning, to trust none and to deceive all was the game he invariably played, and like all who had ever done so, he never failed to lose. His attention was naturally directed to become independent of Sindia and of Nana Furnuwees, he imagined he should be able to induce or compel the former to return to Hindostan, but concluded that the thraldom of the minister would be perpetual, his first object therefore was to endeavour to effect the

ruin of Nana Furnuwees. Anunt Rao, Govind Rao Khallay and some others were privy to the design, but Bajee Rao's chief instrument was Ghatkay now distinguished by his family title of Shirzee Rao, whose daughter though promised, was not yet given in marrage to Dowlut Rao Sindia; no person had more influence with that chieftain, and Bajee Rao persuaded Shirzee Rao, that his views of becoming minister to his future son-in-law, would always be obstructed whilst Nana Furnuwees held a vestige of power; It was therefore determined to put him into confinement. On the 31st December, Nana Furnuwees after some precaution was induced to return a formal visit of ceremony which Sindia had paid him a few days before, when he was seized my Michel Filoze the Neapolitan who accompanied Mahadjee Sindia to the Deccan in 1792, and who now commanded eight battalions in the service of Dowlut Rao. Filoze had on his word of honor guaranteed the safe return of the old minister to his home, and his perfidious conduct excited just indignation, more particularly amongst the European officers in the service of the native states—a set of men who, mere soldiers of fortune, had become as distinguished for good faith as daring enterprize, and their general character had induced Nana to accept Filoze's treachery, by saying that he was entirely ignorant of Sindia's intention to seize Nana; that there was no premeditated deception on his part, and that he was compelled to act as he did by a sudden order accompanied by threats and promises from Shirzee Rao, through a person named Meer Assud Alli Wahid. The mere circumstance of their wishing to defend Filoze, is honorable to the European character; had it regarded any of their own countrymen, the story would have been receiv-

ed without any remark being passed, and as a matter of course.

Mahrattas wishing to be polite always disparage themselves, and in addressing a European nothing is more common than to speak of themselves as a treacherous, deceitful race of marauders on whom no dependence should be placed. One unacquainted with their manners or who has only superficially observed them, would not readily suppose that they merely intend an indirect compliment knowing how highly truth and plain dealing are estimated among us.

Aba Sheroolkur, Rugoba Seroolkur, Naroo Punt Wydh, and several other persons of distinction who accompanied Nana Furnuwees, were seized at the same time, the rest of his retinue amounting to about one thousand persons were stripped, maimed, some of them killed and the whole dispersed, parties of soldiers were immediately sent by Shirzee Rao Ghatkay to plunder not only the house of Nana but the houses of all his adherents; many barricaded their doors and defended themselves from the tops and windows; The city of Poona was like a town taken by storm, the firing continued during the whole night and the ensuing morning, the roads in every direction were stopped, all was uproar, plunder and bloodshed; the alarm was universal, and in the words of a spectator, friends kept together in groups with their shields on their arms and their swords in their hands. At the same time that Nana Furnuwees was seized in Sindia's camp, Bajee Rao, on pretence of business, sent for other ministers of that party and confined them; the principal men were Baboo Rao Phurkay, Appa Bulwunt, Naroo Punt Chuckurdeo, Naroo Neelkunt Muzjimdar and Govind Rao Pingley. Nana Furnuwees was sent to close confinement in the

Fort of Ahmednuggur, and Bajee Rao appointed his brother Amrut Rao prime minister, with Govind Kallay and Sewram Narrian Phutkay as his colleagues, whilst Ballajee Punt Putwurdhun, a man of no experience, was raised to the command of the army. Having thus effected as he supposed, the overthrow of Nana Furnuwees, Bajee Rao began to devise schemes for ridding himself of Sindia; but in the first instance he found himself compelled to perform his engagements with Sindia and Ghatkay, though he hoped, that in the progress of their fulfilment he might find the means of completing his schemes; Sindia espoused the daughter of Ghatkay in the month of March—the marriage expenses were great; and the monthly pay of Sindia's army at Poona was upwards of twenty lacs of rupees; This pecuniary distress soon became extreme—he pressed Bajee Rao for the payment of the two crores of rupees which he had secretly promised, and was answered that he had not the means of raising it himself, but if Sindia would create Ghatkay his Dewan, the latter assisted by information from Ballajee Koonjur might levy the amount upon the rich inhabitants of Poona.

A. D. 1798.

To this Sindia, willingly agreed, and such was the secret means by which Shirzee Rao Ghatkay became minister to his son-in-law, and by which Bajee Rao Rugonath let loose upon his subjects the violence and extortion of a minister, whose name will be remembered, whilst Poona exists, with horror and execration.

To obtain the objects of his appointment, Ghatkay first proceeded to the palace of Bajee Rao, where the ex-ministers, late of the party of Nana Furnuwees, were confined. Those respectable persons were dragged forth and scourged until they gave up their property.

Merchants, bankers, and all persons in the city supposed to possess wealth, were next seized and tortured, several of them died in consequence, and Gungadhur Punt Bhow one of the relations of Nana Furnuwees, expired whilst tied on a heated gun—one of the many modes of torture invented by Shirzee Rao Ghatkay.

It was not supposed at that time, although it is now generally known, that Bajee Rao was the original cause of those excesses, he certainly never contemplated the commission of such barbarous enormities; he was shocked at the cruelty of Ghatkay and remonstrated with Sindia on the subject, but the latter turned a deaf ear to complaints which he considered to be mere hypocrisy, or an excuse to the world. Amrut Rao who was totally ignorant of the existing compact, or that his brother had devised this method of raising money, was exceedingly irritated at the conduct of Ghatkay, and encouraged by the universal cry of abhorrence against Sindia, proposed to his brother the bold scheme of seizing Sindia when on a visit, to which Bajee Rao immediately agreed and was soon eager to carry it into effect. Previous to this suggestion Bajee Rao had concerted with Amrut Rao a plan for raising a regular body of infantry, which in that respect might place him more on an equality with Sindia and Nizam Ally; in cavalry he could soon become superior to both. Amrut Rao from his early intercourse with the British troops during the campaign of his father Rugoba, had a decided predilection for that nation over all other Europeans. He selected Mr. W. R. Jones to command his first brigade, of which the whole of the officers were to have been British subjects; to obtain a pretext with Sindia for the meditated augmentation, he referred to the state of their relation with the court of Hyderabad, and proposed

that they should undertake a conjoint expedition against Nizam Ally for the recovery of the balance of the arrears of tribute, and the districts added by the treaty of Kundla; which had been restored by Nana Furnuwees without the Peishwa's authority or Sindia's knowledge. Sindia having regularly acquiesced, the intention of the Poona court was formally announced to the British Government on the 9th February, but the brigade of infantry was never raised, and the rest of the Peishwa's army, owing to his jealousy of Amrut Rao, his own ignorance of military affairs, and his unfit selection of a commander, became daily less efficient. Bajee Rao's total want of preparation however, did not deter him from carrying on the scheme against Sindia; strong factions began to prevail in the camp of the latter which encouraged Bajee Rao to hope, that by fomenting the rising disorders, the ministers and army of Sindia might be brought over to his views, or soon be reconciled to the deposal of their master; such being the state of affairs, and Sindia's unpopularity having become extreme, Amrut Rao with Bajee Rao's cognizance prepared Abba Kallay the commander of one of the Peishwa's regular Battalions, to be ready to rush in upon an appointed sign and seize Sindia. Dowlut Rao was invited on the pretence of business to the Peishwa's palace, but the invitation being declined, a positive order was sent by Bajee Rao desiring his attendance. He obeyed the summons, and soon after he had sat down, Bajee Rao told him he had sent for him to desire an explanation of his conduct; and suddenly assuming a tone of authority and decision for which the other was quite unprepared, he required him to declare whether he was master or servant; Sindia having an-

swered with respect and humility that he was the Peishwa's servant and ready to show his dependence by his obedience, Bajee Rao reminded him of the insolence, violence, and cruelty which he and his servants had used in numberless instances towards the subjects and servants of his Government, both in the city and even in his palace; he declared that the contempt and disrespect thus shown towards his person and authority he could bear no longer, and therefore ordered Sindia to remove to Jamgaon. Dowlut Rao's reply was couched in the mildest terms; but whilst he expressed his willingness to obey, he declared his inability to move from want of funds to pay his troops; "that he had large debts incurred by placing His Highness on the Musnud, which it was incumbent on His Highness to discharge; when that was effected he would immediately quit Poona." At this moment Amrut Rao asked his brother if he should give the signal, but Bajee Rao's heart failed him; he had not courage to proceed in the design, and thus gave his friends the first decisive proof of that imbecility which swayed most of the actions of his life. Sindia withdrew from the presence in a manner, outwardly the most respectful, but inwardly with his mind filled with suspicion and distrust, and Bajee Rao had afterwards the baseness as well as the weakness, to tell him what Amrut Rao had intended, and to advise him to be on his guard. The Peishwa's own troops were as much in arrears as those of Sindia, the state of affairs at Sattara which we shall presently explain, demanded the presence of a military force, but on their services being required, the men demanded their pay, and a tumult arose which their commander Ballajee Punt Putwurdhun could not appease. Ballajee Koonjur with the presumption of a favorite, made

an attempt to restore order, but the soldiery ridiculed his interference, and on his persevering, they grossly insulted him by knocking off his turban and kicking it into the streets. Govind Rao Pingley who was still in confinement, sent a confidential message to the Peishwa, advising him to release Naroo Punt Chuckurdeo as the only person capable of repressing so serious a disturbance ; a suggestion to which, in a moment of alarm, Bajee Rao readily acceded, he also restored Pingley to liberty the more readily as that person, though of the late ministry, was no real friend to Nana Furnuwees.

Narroo Punt Chuckurdeo, with that facility which any officer who has gained the confidence of the natives of India is sure to experience, calmed the tumult in a day ; but Bajee Rao could neither spare troops from Poona, nor trust the new commander at a distance ; these circumstances led to the enlargement of another of the state prisoners of consequence, Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun.

When Bajee Rao laid his plan for the overthrow of Nana Furnuwees, he engaged the Raja of Sattara in the plot and advised him to confine Baboo Rao Keshew, Nana's agent, and to seize the fort, assuring him that it was his determination to re-establish the old form of Government, and to serve the head of the state as faithfully as the first Bajee Rao had done, the Raja promptly complied with this request, confined Baboo Rao and seized the fort ; but after Nana Furnuwees was imprisoned, when Sewram Narrian Phutkay arrived on the part of the Peishwa to receive charge, the Raja told him he would take care of the fort himself, and expressed a hope that his servant the Peishwa would soon fulfil his intentions. Bajee Rao alarmed at the consequences of his own intrigues, ordered Mahdoo

Rao Rastia to proceed to Sattara, and endeavour to prevail on the Raja to admit his troops into the fort. A respectable force accompained Rastia, but the Raja having his relations about him, would yield neither to promises or threats. These proceedings at last attracted the notice of Sindia, who suspecting that Bajee Rao's intrigue with the Raja was some scheme for enlarging his own power, secretly advised the Raja to maintain the fort, and to raise troops, promising that he would assist him to throw off the Bramin yoke; for which purpose he solemnly engaged to send him five battalions with their guns. The Raja soon began to collect troops, and Mahdoo Rao Rastia having interfered to prevent it, was attacked and obliged to retire from Sattara to Maligaum. This event caused the Peishwa the more alarm from the disposition and state of his army as before described.

It happened that Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun hitherto confined by Anund Rao the brother of Mahdoo Rao Rastia at Mandoogaum, was at the time removed to Waee, and confident of his own influence, he offered his services in suppressing the disturbances and recovering the fort, on condition that he should be permitted to raise troops for the purpose. Accordingly having obtained the Peishwa's permission and with the assistance of Rastia, Pureshram Bhow soon assembled a considerable force in the neighbourhood of Waee.

The town of Sattara lies immediately under the fort, in a deep hollow, nearly surrounded on three sides by hills, cut off from the west Syhadree mountains and from every other quarter, by the Yena, Kistna and Oormovree rivers. The Raja's troops lay encamped in the town and it being then the height of the rains when the Yena was supposed to be unfordable, they considered themselves so perfectly secure that they even took

no precaution of sending out patrols. Pureshram Bhow discovered a ford, and crossed with nearly ten thousand men before intelligence was received of his approach. The force collected by the Raja scarcely amounted to two thousand five hundred men, and were quite unprepared. The Raja had barely time to escape into the fort, and his troops were flying until rallied by his relations Yellojee, Senajee Mohitey, Kooshaba Raja, and Doorgajee Raja Mahareek; those persons were gallantly seconded by the Raja's brother, Chittoor Sing, who was the main spring of the army; resistance was hopeless, they pressed forward for a few minutes with impetuosity, until Yellojee was killed, and both Mohitey and the Mahareek wounded, when the party, by Chittoor Sing's advice, retreated. Senajee Mohitey however, refused to turn his back, and though alone, having tried to single out Mahdoo Rao Rastia, he charged at him in the midst of his followers, by whom he was soon cut to pieces. The plunder of the town of Sattara occupied the troops of the victors; and Chittoor Sing, although pursued by a party, was enabled with a small band of faithful followers to join the Raja of Kolapoor, who, ever since he had been excited by Nana Furnuwees to attack Pureshram Bhow, had spread fire and sword over the whole of the Southern Mahratta Country.

The fort of Sattara being destitute of provisions, the Raja surrendered; and the service being then accomplished, Pureshram Bhow was desired to disband his troops; but he excused himself, declaring his inability to pay their arrears, and protesting his inability to the Peishwa's Government, Bajee Rao was recommended to grant him a pardon on his paying a fine of ten lacs of Rupees.

In the mean time, disorders increased at Poona, and Sindia's situation was thus rendered extremely critical; but the danger proceeded from a quarter whence he least expected it.

Mahadjee Sindia, at his death, left three widows; one of whom, named Bhagirthee Bye, was young and beautiful. Dowlut Rao at the time of his being acknowledged the adopted son and heir of his uncle, promised to make an ample provision for these ladies. They accordingly continued to reside in his camp; but no steps were taken to ensure them a permanent establishment, and in a short time some of their ordinary comforts were circumscribed. No complaint appears to have escaped them; but all of a sudden it was discovered, or at all events alleged, by the older widow, that Sindia carried on a criminal intercourse with the youngest, at which they openly expressed their abhorrence, and declared that they could no longer consider as a son the incestuous defiler of his father's bed. Shirzee Rao Ghatkay interposed; the ladies denied him admittance to their presence; but this miscreant having forced the enclosure of their tent, seized, flogged and barbarously degraded them. The Shenvee Bramins who had held the principal offices under the Government of Mahadjee Sindia, and many of whom were connected by relationship, as well as by caste, being already much disgusted at the elevation of Shirzee Rao Ghatkay and the confinement of Balloba Tattya, whom they regarded as their chief, espoused the cause of the two Byes. Much dissension and discussion ensued; but it was at last settled, that the ladies should proceed to Burhampoor, where they were to take up their abode, provided with a suitable establishment and funds for its support. They accordingly departed from

A. D. 1798.

Poona, but instead of carrying them to Burhampoor, their escort was directed to place them in confinement at Ahmednuggur. This treachery being immediately discovered by their adherents in camp, they had scarcely reached Korygaom, on the Beema, when Muzuffer Khan, a Patan officer in the interests of the Shenvee Bramins, who commanded a choice body of Hindostan horse in Sindia's service, suddenly assailed the escort, rescued the ladies, and brought them back to the neighbourhood of Sindia's camp. This daring act would have been punished immediately, but Sindia had reason to believe that many chief persons in his army were concerned; he also hesitated attacking a party of desperate men, lest either of the females, standing in such a relationship to himself, should be killed in the tumult which would necessarily ensue, which would have entailed on him the greatest disgrace and odium throughout the Mahratta country. Ghatkay however, strenuously urged him to crush the conspiracy while in the bud, and was at last permitted to act against them, but Muzuffer Khan, who had correct intelligence of their proceedings, withdrew the ladies to the camp of the Peishwa's brother, Anunt Rao, who happened to be near the Beema, on his rout to Joonere, and who instantly afforded them protection. Ghatkay had, in person, pursued Muzuffer Khan; and the latter no sooner deposited his charge, than he sallied forth, attacked his pursuers, routed them and returned in triumph to the camp of Anunt Rao.

It is alleged that Bajee Rao was the instigator of this revolt; and it is certain that he encouraged the partizans of the Byes to persevere. He said with apparent sincerity, that he considered the protection which his brother had afforded as humane and proper; but

apprehensive lest it should provoke Sindia and Ghatkay to deeds of violence, he solicited the friendly interposition of Colonel Palmer, the British Resident at his Court, who tendered his mediation to Sindia by whom it was declined.

On the night of the 7th June, five battalions of regular infantry were sent by Sindia, under a Frenchman, named Duprat, to endeavour to surprize the camp of Anunt Rao and seize the Byes; but he failed in the attempt; and being briskly attacked, was compelled to retreat with some loss. Negotiation ensued; a suitable provision and a place of residence of their own selection, were promised to the Byes, and Anunt Rao, not doubting Sindia's sincerity, approached his camp in the neighbourhood of Poona, and took up his ground at the Kirkee Bridge. When Anunt Rao had been thrown entirely off his guard, Shirzee Rao Ghatkay, taking advantage of the Mahomedan festival which commemorates the deaths of the sons of Ali and Fatima, came to the river side on the 11th of the "Mohurrum," when the bier is thrown into the water; he was attended by Monsieur Drugeon, a Frenchman, at the head of two brigades of infantry, on pretence of preserving order and protecting this concluding ceremony; but they suddenly opened a fire from twenty-five guns upon the unsuspecting troops of Anunt Rao, advanced, charged and dispersed them with this powerful body of infantry, and afterwards totally pillaged their camp. The Byes were at this time residing in the hamlet of Wittul Waree, so that this outrage was a direct attack on the Peishwa's brother; and open war between the Peishwa and Sindia, was supposed to be declared.

Kassee Rao Holkar joined Anunt Rao, the Mankuries repaired to his standard, and the Peishwa nego-

tiated an offensive alliance with Nizam Ally, through his resident envoys then at Poona:—the articles agreed to, between Nizam Ally and Nana Furnuwees, by the treaty of Khurdla were to be conformed to by the Peishwa; the "chouth" of Beder was to be remitted, and an additional tract of country yielding eight lacs of rupees, was to be ceded to Nizam Ally in perpetuity, as the price of his assistance against Sindia. Nizam Ally also agreed to support the Peishwa against any future encroachment of the ex-minister Nana Furnuwees; but in case of his being liberated by Sindia, it was stipulated that Bajee Rao should allow him an annual pension of one lac of rupees. Rughojee Bhonslay, if he chose to accede to it, was to be considered a party to this treaty, and was to receive the whole of Gurrah Mundelah from Bajee Rao.

Sindia getting alarmed, became very desirous of obtaining that mediation which he had previously rejected from the British Government. Colonel Palmer recommended the dismissal of his present ministers, the settlement of a Jagheer on the Byes, and reparation to the Peishwa by submitting to his authority. Sindia appeared much disposed to follow this advice; but the Byes became so extravagant in their demands that it was impossible to accede to them; and although he was really desirous of returning to Hindostan, he had no means of discharging any part of the great arrears due to his army.

In order therefore to intimidate Bajee Rao and to establish an alliance as a counterpoise to that which was just formed between the Nizam and the Peishwa, Sindia sent envoys to Tippoo. But Bajee Rao by the advice of Govind Rao Kallay did the same. A more efficacious way of alarming Bajee Rao, was the release

of Nana Furnuwees; by which Sindia also hoped to obtain a sufficient sum to free him from the most urgent of his embarrassments. Nana Furnuwees was accordingly brought from Ahmednuggur, and two crores of rupees demanded as the price of his liberty. After some delay, during which Nana endeavoured to throw himself on the protection of the British Government, he at last agreed to pay Sindia ten lacs of rupees, provided he were previously set at liberty, as otherwise whilst under restraint, his agents would comply with no order even if furnished with a private token from himself. He accordingly obtained his liberty and the money was promptly paid.

The enlargement of Nana although of great concern to Bajee Rao, was not unlooked for; but when it was almost immediately after followed by the revocation of the treaty with Nizam Ally, from causes not sufficiently explained, but chiefly owing to the fluctuating and unsteady policy of the Minister Musheer-ool-Moolk, the Peishwa lost no time in commencing negotiations with Nana Furnuwees and Sindia. The latter, not yet apprized of the revocation of the treaty, apprehensive of an attack from the confederated Mahrattas and Moghuls, and alarmed by reports of disaffection amongst his troops in Hindostan, received these overtures with complacency, but insisted upon the reinstatement or Nana Furnuwees as a preliminary to an accommodation. Ghatkay in the mean time, assisted by an agent worthy of himself, a Mahratta named Fuckeerjee Garway, continued to commit every species of extortion and excess; he even disregarded the remonstrances of Sindia; and his cruelty, increased by indulgence, was almost unparalelled. He seized four officers in Sindia's army on mere suspicion of their having been

concerned in the Byes' insurrection; he blew three of them from guns, and the fourth, Yeswunt Rao Sevajee, had a tent peg driven into his brain with a mallet. Sindia aroused at length by the contempt shown to his authority, and the universal cry of execration excited by such conduct, listened to the representations of Ramjee Patell and Abba Chitnees, and directed two young men, the sons of Tiloze and Hessing by native mothers, to arrest Ghatkay and Garway, which they effected with great dexterity.

The confinement of these persons was a further step to a reconciliation between Sindia and Bajee Rao; and the new course of policy adopted about this period by the English tended to a species of union between them.

The system of neutrality followed by the British Goverment in India during the administration of Sir John Shore, was entirely reversed soon after the arrival of Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, which took place on the 26th April, 1798. The revival of the political relations of the English with the Courts of Hydrabad and Poona, was the first object to which the Residents were directed to turn their attention. It was the object of the Governor General to secure the alliance of those States, or at all events to prevent their resources from being employed against the British Government in the same manner as appeared to be meditated by Jyspoo in his recent connection with the French. The principal dangers to the English in a war with Jyspoo supported by the French, was the fear of his being joined by other Native Powers whose governments were daily becoming weaker, and therefore more likely to be beguiled by petty intrigues than by sound policy.

A considerable change had taken place in the Mili-

tary strengh of Sindia and Nizam Ally, which now in a great measure lay in their numerous corps of regular infantry, and these chiefly commanded by French officers. It was therefore of importance to the British Government to secure the alliance of Nizam Ally and the Mahrattas, and it became a primary object to induce Sindia to return to Hindostan, both from the centrical situations occupied by his brigades in the Deccan, and from his known desire to obstruct the influence of the British with the Peishwa, over whom it was his object to perpetuate his own ascendancy.

The reported designs of Zuman Shah, king of Cabul, were strongly set forth by the British agents, in order to induce Sindia to return for the protection of his dominions in Hindostan ; whilst to the Peishwa was offered a body of Company's troops for the protection of his person and authority and the revival of the energies of his Government.

Bajee Rao had shortly before made an application to the British of a nature similiar to the proposed arrangements, but at that period both their own policy and the operation of the act of parliament prevented the British Government from complying with his request. The sudden desire now evinced by the English to grant him a subsidiary force, their frequent recommendations to reinstate Nana Furnuwees in the ministry and to remove Sindia from Poona, led Bajee Rao, whose views and information were bounded by very narrow limits, to suppose that the whole was a scheme of the detested Nana, the object he most dreaded and therefore uppermost in his mind; accordingly, although Sindia had declared his intention and wish to return to Hindostan, and a public visit of ceremony announcing that a reconciliation had taken place between Sindia

and Nana Furnuwees on the one part, and Bajee Rao on the other, still the Peishwa in a secret conference with Sindia, urged his stay at Poona for the purpose of preventing the introduction of the English by Nana Furnuwees, but he was at the same time doing all in his power to conciliate Nana, and was pressing him to quit Sindia's army for the purpose of resuming the duties of administration. Nana accordingly returned once more to the city of Poona, but declined interfering with the Peishwa's affairs until the safety of his person and property should be guaranteed by the British Government and Nizam Ally, and until he could effect reconciliations in Sindia's family to enable him to return to Hindostan. To forward the latter object he laboured to bring about a reconciliation, and in hopes of expediting Sindia's march, advanced him fifteen lacs of rupees from his private treasury in addition to ten lacs previously paid at the time of his liberation. Perceiving that Sindia was really serious in his proposal of returning to Hindostan, Bajee Rao intimated his intention of paying Nana Furnuwees a secret visit and in disguise, so that it might not come to Sindia's knowledge. In the middle of the night attended by a single domestic he repaired to Nana's house, and for the time succeeded in deceiving the old minister into a belief of his being wholly unconcerned in his seizure and disgrace, and that he had confined the other ministers, in the vain hope of offending Sindia's agents. Colonel Palmer the British Resident, was of opinion that Nana was never deceived by him, and the fact is proved by the result; but indeed the eloquence and manners of Bajee Rao, were so powerful and insinuating that he deceived most men, even when on their guard against him. On this occasion seeing the effect of his

language on the old man, he laid his head at the feet of Nana Furnuwees, swore by those feet * to consider him as his father, to abide by his counsel in all future measures, and finally in a burst of tears, conjured and entreated him not to abandon the Brahmin sovereignty assailed as it then was by the factions of the Mahrattas and the ambition of the English.

In consequence of this appeal Nana Furnuwees resumed the duties of minister without those securities for which he had at first so prudently stipulated; but scarcely had he begun the transaction of public business, when he was informed by† Jeswunt Rao Ghorepuray, that Bajee Rao was again endeavouring to persuade Sindia to confine him. The intelligence was confirmed by Sindia himself.

Nana instantly repaired to the palace, taxed the Peishwa with his unparallelled duplicity, begged that he would no longer plot against the life and be jealous of an old man already borne down by years infirmity and misfortunes, but permit him to retire to some spot far from courts and camps, where his being suffered to exist could never interfere with any plans his Highness might form. He now abjured the desire of possessing power on his own account and declared that he had only accepted it in hopes of being still useful. Bajee Rao positively denied having been accessary to a proceeding so treacherous,

A. D. 1799.

* To swear by the feet of a Brahmin, is one of the most sacred and solemn of Hindoo oaths.

† This person who came into Sindia's confidence, was of the family of the great Suntajee Ghorepuray so conspicuous in the days of Aurungzebe, and a descendant of Moozar Rao Ghorepuray of Goote, so often mentioned by Orme.

and begged that those who had used his name might be apprehended.

Sindia immediatly seized the Peishwa's ministers Govind Rao Kally and Sewram Narrain Phutkay, the agents employed, but as it is a point of honour amongst Mahrattas never to divulge the names of their principals on such occasions, they bore the loss of their liberty and property without impeaching the veracity of their master, and Sewram Narrain Phutkay soon after died.

Satisfaction being thus afforded, Nana Furnuwees resumed the office of prime minister; but his suspicions were not removed, and he avoided all interference in business not absolutely necessary. This period however was extremely critical; Nizam Ally had concluded a new treaty with the English, by which he agreed to receive no Frenchman into his service, to dismiss his French officers and disband the whole of the infantry lately commanded by Raymond, receiving in their stead, six battalions of British sepoys, each battalion one thousand strong, with a proportion of European artillery, for which he agreed to pay an annual subsidy of twenty-four lacs seventeen thousand one hundred rupees. The English Government also became bound by an article, cautiously expressed, to mediate between Nizam Ally and the Peishwa, and in case of a difference arising between them to use every endeavour to induce the Peishwa to accede to a friendly arbitration. The Mahrattas naturally viewed this treaty with much jealousy, and the Peishwa on being urged by the British agent to conclude a similiar

one, * evaded the subject by an assurance that he would faithfully execute the conditions of existing engagements, and on a prospect of a war with Tippoo, promised to afford his aid. In these replies Bajee Rao had followed the opinion and advice of Nana Furnuwees, but had neither the sincerity nor steadiness to fulfil the engagements alluded to, though assured by Nana that any departure from good faith must equally affect the honour and security of his Government; Nana Furnuwees recommended, that Appa Sahib the son of Pureshram Bhow should be appointed to command the contingent intended to co-operate with the English; and in the present emergency proposed to assemble it by collecting the force under Dhondoo Punt Gokla Sur Soobedar of the Carnatic, the troops of Rastia and the Vinchorkur, and all the horse which the Brahmin Jagheerdars could raise. The necessities of the State, and the presence of Sindia, precluded the Peishwa from recruiting the army or detaching any portion of it from Poona.

Appa Sahib refused the command, but the offer having led to a reconciliation between Pureshram Bhow and Nana Furnuwees, the Bhow agreed to head the contingent himself, on condition of having his fine remitted and receiving Dharwar with several other places

* The Governor General's object was to engage, under that treaty, the reception at Poona of a subsidiary force from the Company, and co-operations in the intended measures against Tippoo, with whom every attempt was first to be made through negotiation. The restoration of the Nizam to his proper influence and the annihilation of the French force at Hydrabad, had been pointed out as important objects. But His Highness could not be induced to accede to the Governor General's propositions, and his lordship accordingly directed the Resident to abstain from further solicitation.

Auber.

in the Carnatic as Jagheer. An English detachment similar to that formerly employed and under the command of the same officer, was held in readiness to join Pureshram Bhow. But these endeavours of Nana Furnuwees were frustrated by Bajee Rao, who acted under the influence of Dowlut Rao Sindia. After the English had commenced hostilities against Tippoo, his envoys were publicly received at Poona although repeated remonstrances were made on the subject by the British Resident; even after their formal dismissal was intimated to Colonel Palmer on the the 19th March, they only retired to Kitwee, a village twenty-five miles south of Poona. Colonel Palmer at first supposed that the detention of the Vukeels was a mere repetition of the former plan of obtaining a sum of money on a false pretence of neutrality or aid. The British Resident knew that Bajee Rao had received from Tippoo thirteen lacs of rupees, to which Sindia was privy, but it was not known to Nana Furnuwees; and when the Governor General noticed the conduct of the Court of Poona by simply countermanding the detachment which had been prepared to accompany Pureshram Bhow, Nana Furnuwees could not comprehend the reason.

Bajee Rao imagined, that by the concession made to Pureshram Bhow on the one hand, and the encouragement given to Tippoo on the other, he should deceive both parties, and postpone his ultimate decision until circumstances enabled him to judge with which it would be most advantageous to range himself. As far however as he was capable of following any plan, his resolution was taken in favor of Tippoo. In concert with Sindia a scheme was laid to attack Nizam Ally, in which they hoped also to engage Rughoojee Bhonslay, and as the English would as a matter of course, defend the

Moghul territory in consequence of their late treaty, the Peishwa was then to declare the Mahrattas as allies of Tippoo Sultan. The Marquis of Wellesly on the other hand, being apprized of these views, was endeavouring to engage Rughoojee Bhonslay as a party to the treaty concluded by Nizam Ally. But before the Peishwa or Sindia had the slightest conception that Tippoo's downfall was so near, they were astonished by the intelligence of the capture of Seringapatam, the death of Tippoo and the subversion of his government.

Bajee Rao affected the utmost joy, and soon after endeavoured to persuade Colonel Palmer, that the failure of his engagement was entirely attributable to Nana Furnuwees. Immediate orders were sent to Dhondoo Punt Gokla Sur Soobedar of the Carnatic to advance into Tippoo's country with what force he could collect. The consequence was that many villages were plundered after the country had submitted to the British Government, and the only merit which Dhondoo Punt's party could claim was that of intercepting Dhoondia Wagh,* a marauding fugitive from Seringapatam, whom

* Dhoondia Wagh was originally in the service of the Patan State of Savanore, but having committed various depredations on the territories of Tippoo, he incurred the resentment of that chief who contrived to secure his person and compelled him to conform to the Mahomedan faith. He afterwards employed him in his service, but suspecting his fidelity confined him in irons some time previously to the late war. During the confusion of the assault on Seringapatam on the 4th May, Dhoondia managed to make his escape, and after collecting a considerable force of horse and foot from the fugitives of Tippoo's army and other men of desperate fortune, he laid the rich country of Bednore under severe contributions, prepetrating the most atrocious acts of rapine, plunder and murder; he was eventually destroyed on the 10th September 1800, by a British detachment under the present Duke of Wellington.

Dhondoo Punt attacked by surprize, and dispersed his followers ; after which Dhoondia entered into the territory of the Raja of Kolapoor who at that period was actively engaged in hostilities against the Peishwa, and who readily received him into his army.

Sindia, on receiving the intelligence of Tippoo's overthrow, despatched emissaries to Seringapatam for the purpose of encouraging resistance amongst the partizans of the late Sultan who might yet be free, but he also sent congratulations to the English Resident at Poona, expressive of his happiness at the glorious termination of the war. The judgment and energy by which the power of Tippoo was so speedily reduced, may be considered one of the first examples of that energetic policy, by which Great Britain in her subsequent mighty struggles in Europe, has been so eminently distinguished. The resources of Nizam Ally's Government had been placed at the disposal of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the services of his contingent had been directed with far greater efficiency than during the former war, an improvement justly ascribed to the ability and exertions of the Governor General's political agent Captain Malcolm. The mode of dividing the conquered provinces was dictated by a wise and liberal spirit; Nizam Ally with judicious confidence, had left the arrangement to the Marquis of Wellesley, who effected them in the following manner.

As it was deemed incompatible with the future tranquility of the country and the security of the Company's possessions, to establish a son of Tippoo in sovereignty, a descendant of those Rajas of Mysore from whom Hyder Ally had usurped the government, was released from confinement and raised to the Musnud of his ancestors. A partition treaty was then concluded by

the British Government, Nizam Ally, and the restored Raja.

The whole of Tippoo's revenue was estimated at 30,40,000 Pagodas.

To the Rajah was assigned	13,60,000
To Nizam Ally	5,30,000
To the Company	5,37,000
For the maintenance of the families of Hyder and Tippoo in charge of the British Government	2,40,000
For the maintenance of Kummum-ud-Deen Khan and his family, in charge of Nizam Ally	70,000

Notwithstanding the Peishwa's total failure in his engagements, the Governor General deemed it politic to allow him some share of the conquered territory provided he could be brought to accede to an alliance corresponding to that formed with Nizam Ally; with this view, the balance, in the territory adjoining the Peishwa's southern boundary, yielding an annual revenue of 2,63,000 Pagodas, was reserved and was offered on the above conditions to the Peishwa. Much discussion took place in consequence; the Court of Poona was unwilling by a distinct refusal to afford the allies a pretext for at once appropriating the reserved territory; in which case two thirds of it was to be given to Nizam Ally, and the rest retained by the Company. During the ensuing negotiation the superiority of Nana Furnuwees is easy to be perceived. In extenuation of the dissatisfaction which had arisen from the Peishwa's conduct in the minds of the allies, Bajee Bao represented the unfortunate distractions of the empire which had prevented him from assembling an army, he also pleaded the usages of Native States, which permit Vukeels to

remain in their Courts even in time of war. To the preliminary demand that the Mahrattas should abstain from aggression on the territory of the new Raja of Mysore, the Peishwa replied, that on obtaining the proposed cession of territory, it would be considered equivalent to the chouth to which the Mahrattas were entitled from the whole of the territories of the late Sultan. In case the French should invade India the Peishwa engaged to unite with the English in repelling them; but he would not agree to exclude individuals of that nation from his service; he offered to subsidize two battalions of British troops, provided they might be employed to assist in reducing refractory tributaries, amongst whom was the Seedee of Jinjeera. But he absolutely refused the Company's mediation in the existing differences between the Mahrattas and Nizam Ally respecting the chouth. To an application for exchanging the chouth of Surat for an equivalent revenue, a measure in itself calculated to obviate vexatious disputes and losses, a like peremptory refusal was given; and a proposal to include Rughoojee Bhonslay as a principal in the intended alliance was treated by the Peishwa as absurd. Finally, after a protracted discussion, the reserved territory was shared between Nizam Ally and the British Government as stipulated in the treaty, and on the 12th of October a new treaty was concluded between them, by which the British Government engaged to protect the territories of Nizam Ally from unprovoked aggression, two additional battalions of Native Infantry were added to the former six, together with a regiment of Native Cavalry; and for the payment of the whole force, the territories acquired by Nizam Ally on the partition of the Mysore territories, both in 1792 and

A. D. 1800.

1799, were ceded in perpetuity to the British Government. During this period, the affairs of Sindia remained in a very distracted state. After the treacherous attack made by Shirzee Rao Ghatkay on Amrut Rao's camp, the Byes fled to the Raja of Kolapoor, who was still at war with the Peishwa. The Byes were soon joined by Narrain Rao Bukshee and the principal Shenwee Brahmins from Sindia's camp. Large bodies of horse flocked to their standard, and when sufficiently strong they returned to the northward, plundering every village from the Kistna to the Godavery which acknowledged the authority of Dowlut Rao Sindia; besides this, they not only insulted Sindia in his lines, but blockaded the roads in the neighborhood of Poona. Sindia's horse at first attempted to oppose them, but their numbers were so inferior that after a few skirmishes in which they suffered severely, they would not advance until supported by the regular battalions, before whom the Byes retired, but as soon as the battalions returned to camp the Byes' forces also faced about and followed them. There is perhaps no parallell example of such an extraordinary state of affairs as that which the Peishwa's territory presented at this period, where a rebellion against one prince, was maintained within the territory of another whom both parties acknowledged as their sovereign. The anarchy thus occasioned may be better conceived than expressed; the whole country swarmed with horsemen, and although plunder was not quite indiscriminate, still great devastation was committed. The flame spread to Hindostan; Luckwa Dada, a Shenwee Brahmin already mentioned as second in importance to Balloba Tattya by whom he had been raised to his presen condition, having been suspected of disaffection in conse-

quence of his attachment to Balloba, was deprived of power and dismissed from his employment. Being thus driven into the ranks of the insurgents he soon raised a powerful army, repeatedly defeated the troops sent against him; and reduced the country from Oojein to Seronge.

To add to these troubles Jeswunt Rao Holkar, who, after his brother's death at Poona had fled to Nagpoor, and who had there been confined through Sindia's influence, having effected his escape fled to Malwa, collected followers and plundered the country. Monsieur Perron had succeeded to the Command of Sindia's regular infantry on the departure of Mr. D. Boyne, who was compelled from ill health to return to Europe in 1797; but Perron at the period we have now arrived at was so fully occupied by the seige of Agra, held by the adherents of Luckwa Dada, in which he was assisted by Ambajee Jugha, that he found it impossible to stop the disorders in Malwa without additional troops, for which he had made repeated and urgent applications to his master in the Deccan. Under these circumstances Sindia had again recourse to negotiation with the Byes, but the extent of the Byes' demands reached nothing short of complete sovereignty, which they required Sindia to hold under their authority; but before these conditions could be admitted they insisted on the release of Balloba Tattya.

Sindia's new ministers Abba Chitness and Ryajee Patell, with a judgment and disinterestedness which do them honour, recommended their master to reinstate Balloba as prime minister, to which Sindia agreed, and no sooner was the arrangement completed than it produced an immediate effect in detaching the principal leaders from the insurrection. The Byes agreed to an

adjustment through Balloba's mediation, and the Fort of Asseerghur with the city of Burhampoor along with a Jagheer of eleven lacs of rupees were to be assigned to them. Luckwa Dada, in consequence of the restoration of Balloba, had an interview with Ambajee Jagheer who had been opposed to him in Malwa, and agreed to a cessation of arms; every difference was on the point of being settled; the Byes had received their clothes, jewels and other private property from Sindia's camp, and had proceeded as far as Rajawaree near Jejoory on their way to Poona, when intelligence reached them of one of their partizans having been attacked and cut off, they therefore immediately retreated towards Punderpoor and recommenced their system of depredation.

The whole of the Southern Mahratta country was in great disorder. The Raja of Kolapoor still waged war against the Peishwa, and the reinforcement brought by Chitoor Sing after the defeat of the Raja of Sattara gave a new spirit to their efforts. Chitoor Sing had been closely pursued into the Kolapoor territory by a body of Rastia's troops joined by some others on the part of the Pritee Nidhee. The whole of whom encamped near the Warna river. Five hundred horse of the troops who had been dispersed at Sattara having got together, apprized Chitoor Sing of their situation, and by his directions concealed themselves for some days in the hills until he had received a reinforcement from Kolapoor; having received which, by a well concerted attack upon the troops who had pursued him, he cut them off almost to a man. A body of Pureshram Bhow's troops were shortly afterwards treated in a similar manner, and Chitoor Sing, having learnt that after Pureshram's departure from Sattara, two or three thousand

of Rastia's troops with some guns were encamped in the neighborhood of the Fort, vowed to avenge the disgrace sustained by the first defeat. He accordingly led six hundred infantry through the hills and valleys until he came opposite to the village of Pal, where he remained concealed until nightfall, he then repaired to the celebrated temple and performed the usual forms of worship, and the whole party having solemnly invoked the aid of the deity, stained their clothes with a yellow dye, rubbed their hands and faces with turmeric, issued forth thus fortified with the implied vow of conquest or death, to attack their enemy. They did not find Rastia's troops unprepared, but they had only time to fire a few rounds, when they were furiously charged by Chitoor Sing, their guns taken and destroyed, and the whole body dispersed in a few minutes.

A rapid march to the banks of the Warna before his retreat could be intercepted, marked a prudence as well as enterprise which gained Chitoor Sing considerable credit with the Mahratta soldiery, and his numbers were much increased in the course of a few months. At the head of a very inferior force and with no funds to support it, he kept seven thousand of Rastia's troops in perpetual motion between the Neera and Warna. He was however frequently beaten; and on one occasion, when accompanied by only five hundred men, he was surrounded by five thousand of Rastia's men, but managed to cut his way through them, although with a loss of more than half his party. His enterprize, his remarkable escapes, his conciliatory manners, the popularity of his cause amongst the Mahrattas, and his confidence in the peasantry, rendered him every where a favorite, notwithstanding his having repeatedly laid the whole of the villages under contribution.

Chittoor Sing's insurrection was considered at Poona as a part of the Kolapoor war, and both the Peishwa and Nana Furnuwees had their share of the blame arising therefrom.

During the insurrection of Sattara and subsequent to it, whilst Chitoor Sing kept Rastia in check to the north of the Warna, the Raja of Kolapoor was actively engaged against the Putwurdhuns and Dhondoo Punt Gokla. Tasgaom, the capital of Pureshram Bhow's Jagheer was pillaged, and his palace which had been erected at great expense was burnt to the ground. The Carnatic was laid under contribution and Dhondoo Punt Gokla, although a brave and active officer, was repeatedly defeated. Such was the state of the Kolapoor warfare up to the period at which we have arrived. In the month of August after Balloba Tattya's release and a reconciliation having taken place between him and Nana Furnuwees, they deliberated, with the knowledge and approbation of their superiors on the course of policy necessary to be pursued with regard to Nizam Ally and the English; but both concurred in the necessity of suppressing the formidable disturbance to the southward, as a preliminary to any other arrangement. It was accordingly resolved that the force previously intended by Nana Furnuwees to have co-operated with the allies against Tippoo, should be sent under Pureshram Bhow, considerably reinforced, on the present service. The whole force to be furnished in proportions by the Peishwa and by Sindia and other Jagheerdars, was to consist of thirty thousand horse and six thousand infantry; but as it was impracticable to prepare this force till the Dusseera, Pureshram Bhow was desired to the watch the Raja of Kolapoor, and restrain him as much as possible. Pureshram Bhow, whose mi-

litary spirit was on this occasion excited by personal injury and revenge, although his health was in a declining state, kept the field all the rains, and recovered the garrisons between the rivers Gulpurba and Malpurba.

In the month of September he marched from Gokak towards Kolapoor, not without hopes of putting a finish to the war himself; but near the village of Putunkoondee, he encountered the Raja of Kolapoor and Chitoor Sing, when he experienced a total defeat, and was himself mortally wounded and made prisoner. Wiswas Rao, the brother of Shirzee Rao Ghatkay, took up the dying man, and laying him across his horse, threw him down before the Raja of Kolapoor, who ordered him, it is said, in this state to be cut to pieces. Dajeeba Limmay who was in this action, states this circumstance; and Bajee Rao in a private conversation with Mr. Elplinstone at Punderpoor in 1812, mentioned it as a well known fact, but it is not generally allowed either at Kolapoor or Sattara, although at these two places the Raja of Kolapoor has many enemies. Dajeeba Limmay whose name I have mentioned above was a confidential agent of Pureshram Bhow: he was employed in several high situations during the administration of Nana Furnuwees, and was a sharer in many of the revolutions and events which we are now recording; he wrote the history of his own times which is very interesting.

Nana Furnuwees and Balloba sent the troops of the Vinchurkur, the Pritee Nidhee, and five of Sindia's regular battalions under Major Brownrigg, to support Appa Saheb, Pureshram Bhow's son, and reduce the Raja to submission. This accession of force was too much for the Raja to withstand and he therefore retired under

the protection of the Fort of Panalla, but in that situation his troops were surprised by Appa Sahib, who drove some of them into the Fort, whilst the greater part sought refuge in Kolapoor which the Peishwa's troops immediately invested, after a considerable time had been spent in the siege the place was nearly reduced, when events occurred at Poona which interfered to save the Kolapoor state, which in all probability would otherwise have been subverted, or at least held in future a dependency on the Peishwa's government.

A. D. 1800.

The first of the events alluded to in point of time and in fact the only one of importance in this narrative, was the death of Nana Furnuwees. His health had long been in a declining state, but he continued to transact business almost to the last with his accustomed order and punctuality. He died on the 13th March at Poona "and with him," says Colonel Palmer, "has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Mahratta Government." Nana Furnuwees was certainly a great statesman; his principal defects originated in the want of personal courage, and in ambition not always restrained by principle. During the latter unhappy years of his life, on the testimony of both English and Mahratta authority, he is entitled to the highest praise of having acted with the feelings and sincerity of a patriot. He honorably advised Bajee Rao to such measures as he believed advantageous, unmindful of any consequence to himself. He was decidedly averse to the admission of a body of foreign troops in the manner proposed by the Marquis of Wellesly, if the energies of the government could in any possible way be restored without it. He respected the English, admired their sincerity of character and the

vigor of their government, but as political enemies no one regarded them with more jealousy and alarm. He had the wisdom to perceive the overpowering influence which the English must eventually obtain should they be permitted the footing desired by the Governor General.

The life of Nana may be said to have been entirely public, and its events have been so fully recorded as well as the motives for his conduct, that it is unnecessary to enlarge on his character. In private life he was a man of strict veracity, humane, charitable and frugal, his whole time was regulated with the strictest order, and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility.

In regard to civil government, whilst he continued in power he endeavored to preserve the system of Mahdoo Rao Bullal, but overwhelming business, and the frequent distractions which prevailed produced great laxity in the superintendence.

No instance of greater neglect on the part of an administration, or of more extraordinary criminality in a subordinate officer, is recorded in the annals of any state, than the case of Gassee Ram, Kotwal or Police Superintendent of the city of Poonah. This man, a Brahmin, a native of Hindostan, employed the power with which he had been entrusted in perpetrating the most dreadful murders. People disappeared and no trace of them could be found. Gassee Ram was suspected, but Nana Furnavees refused to listen to the complaints as they appeared absurd from their unexampled atrocity. At last, it being suspected that Gassee Ram was starving a respectable Brahmin to death, Mannajee Pharkay headed a party of the people, broke open the prison and rescued the unfortunate Brahmin, this led

to the detection and exposition of the monster's crimes. He was immediately seized by the enraged populace, by whom he was stoned to death.

In his person Nana was tall and thin, his complexion was rather dark and his demeanour grave; but his look intelligent, quick and penetrating, as will be perceived by reference to the annexed picture. The original of which is an exceedingly well painted picture in oils, preserved with great care at Manowley, his family Jagheer, by his widow, of whose immediate history more will be subsequently added.

Nana died without issue although he had been married to no less than nine wives, for whose names and those of their families, vide appendix.

Family M. S S. and oral communication.

At the time of Nana Furnuwees' death, his widow was at a village called Seeder Tank a distance of about thirty miles from Poonah. Bajee Rao being anxious to secure possession both of the widow as well as Nana's treasure, which was generally reported to be immense, immediately sent a party of troops to bring her to Poona, and after considerable resistance from a party of about two thousand Arabs whom Nana had retained in his service, in which many of the Peishwa's troops were slain, an arrangement was concluded, by which the Arabs were allowed to proceed to Cambay in Gujerat, while the widow remained in Bajee Rao's custody, until on Jeshwunt Rao Holkar's approach, he was compelled to fly from Poona. Holkar treated her with the greatest kindness and consideration as long as he remained there, but on Amrut Rao's coming to Poona the widow did not feel herself secure from his ancient enmity towards Nana, she therefore fled for refuge to the Fort of Soghur, the Killedar of which, Dhon-

doo Bullal, was a staunch dependent of Nana's; by him she was protected until the year 1804, when General Wellesley who had been invested with full political powers for the affairs of the Deccan on the part of the Peishwa, made a treaty with Dhondoo Bullal by which the fort of Loghur was to be evacuated and Nana's widow to be allowed to settle wherever she wished in any part of the Peishwa's dominions, under the guarantee of the British Government and a pension of rupees twelve thousand annually conferred upon her. Dhondoo Bullal was anxious that she should fix upon Cullal opposite to Tannah in Salsette as her place of residence, but an objection to this arrangement arose owing to the the few Brahmin families resident there. Panwell was therefore the station fixed upon, she resided there for about a space of sixteen years when she obtained permission to proceed to Manowley where she has resided ever since.

Duke of Wellington's depatches.

In the year 1827, permission was obtained from the English Government to adopt a son, which permission she had long sought to obtain from the Peishwa who at first had pretended to accede to her request but had managed in various ways to delay giving his final consent. Her choice fell upon Mahadajee Bulhar son of Ram Krishna Bhanoo, whose present age is about thirty years, he was married in the 1830 to Rumma Bye, daughter of Kaishow Rao Putwurdhun, a Jagheerdar of Poorundhur, with whom he received a dowry of twenty five thousand rupees in cash and a village yielding an annual revenue of about one thousand rupees, she is still without issue.

Oral communication.

Manowley produces a revenue of about two thousand rupees annually. The widow is most anxious that her pension should descend to her adopted son and petitions

to this effect are now before the authorities. At the period of the grant, no provision appears to have been made that the pension should extend beyond the life of the widow herself.

Although Nana Furnuwees during his lifetime was possessed of the following Jagheers, still the family are anxious to appear poor, and indeed do not keep up much state.

A Jagheer given him by the Peishwa valued annually at Rupees			6,000
Do.	Do.	from Angria	2,000
Do.	Do.	from the Guicwar.	10,000
Do.	Do.	from Hyder Ally	10,000
Do.	Do.	from the Habshee	2,000
Do.	Do.	from Holkar	10,000
Do.	Do.	from Sindia	65,000
Do.	Do.	from the Suchew of Bhore.	2,000
Do.	Do.	from Pureshram Bhow Putwurdhun	5,000
Jagheer given him by the Prithee Nidhee of Kolapoor			1,000
Do.	Do.	Do. of Sattara.	10,000
His Carkoon business realized			40,000
Also from the Sattara Muntree			2,000
Other Jagheers Amounting to			50,000

The whole of which, the family declare were taken and confiscated by Bajee Row Peishwa.

APPENDIX TO THE LIFE

OF

NANA FURNUWEES.

Nana Furnuwees was married no less than nine times.

The name of his first wife was Ayesha Wado Bye the daughter of Sewdasheo Rughoonath Gudray, a respectable merchant of Poonah; by this wife Nana had one son who died when an infant.

The second wife was Luximee Bye daughter of Dharab Doho, who held some government employment in the fort of Severndroog; by her he had no children.

The third wife was Unpoora Bye daughter of Garghul, a wealthy inhabitant of Waee; by her he had a daughter who died in infancy.

The fourth wife was Bhada Bye daughter of Bheedhar, a respectable Soucar of Poona; by her he had no children.

The fifth wife was Annundee Bye daughter of Wayd, a Carkoon employed under the Peishwa's Government, by her he had no children.

The sixth wife was Ayasha Bye daughter of Paindsai, a Carkoon of the Peishwa's Government; by her he had a daughter who died young.

The seventh was Anpoorna Bye, daughter of Puranspai, a Carkoon of Viziadroog; by her he had no children.

The eighth wife was Bhuga Bye, daughter of Sutar, a Carkoon of Rutnaghery; by her he had no child. She died at the early age of fourteen years, thirteen days after Nana's death.

The ninth wife was Joo Bye a daughter of Gopal Bhut Wyshun Payun, an inhabitant of Moorar in the Talooka of Sevendroog. She is represented as having been exceedingly beautiful; she had not reached the age of puberty when Nana died.

The following are a series of letters by His Grace the Duke of Wellington which refer to this work.

Extract of a Letter to Major Shaw, dated 26th January 1804.

I could settle the Peishwa's countries in a few days, if I could bring him to act rationally, or if I could inspire him with confidence in me or the British Government. I have got from Amrut Rao orders for the fort of Poorundhur and all the districts he held under the Poona State, which I could give to the Peishwa if he would only

release the servants and women belonging to Amrut Rao, besides this, I could get possession of the Fort of Loghur on the Bhore Ghaut for him. By these possessions his government would be more respectable than ever it was and his country would settle itself; but he will not do any thing that is desired of him. He will not consent to liberate Amrut Rao's servants and therefore I cannot give up the countries without violating every principle of good faith, and keeping alive for ever the spirit of hostility; and he will not allow the Killadar of Loghur to remove with his property and the family of Nana Furnuwees to Bombay under the protection of the British Government.—

Extract of a letter to Lieut. Friesel, dated 30th. January 1804.

In respect to Loghur I beg to apprize the Peishwa's ministers that I cannot attempt to induce the Killadar to give up the Fort, unless his Highness should consent to allow the widow of Nana Furnuwees to go away, as well as all the other persons mentioned in your letter. I can easily conceive, that to have allowed this lady to reside at Bombay might have been attended by dangerous or inconvenient consequences formerly; but under present circumstances, when the Peishwa is closely allied with the British Government, he can have nothing to apprehend from her being used as a means of intrigue, either by that Government or by any other person.

Extract of a letter to the Governor General, dated 7th. March 1804.

Shortly after my arrival in Poona, the Peishwa's minister Sudasheo Mankaiseer, appointed the 1st March as a day to meet and discourse with me on the Peishwa's affairs. During the conversation, Munkaiseer said that the possession of the Fort of Loghur was absolutely necessary to enable the Peishwa to conduct his Government and live in peace and respectability in Poona. I answered, that the Killadar of Loghur had, above two years before, offered to relinquish his Fort upon very reasonable terms, and that he had lately renewed the offer, but that his Highness would not listen to it because it did not go to the punishment and plunder of the Killadar; and now there was reason to believe that the Killadar would not agree to surrender his fort. I observed that the siege of Loghur was a very serious operation, for which as usual, his Highness had no means, and depended on the British Government; and it certainly was incumbent on that Government to see that there were just grounds for depriving the Killadar of his fort, before they entered upon that operation. I here remarked that during the late

war his fort had been most important, and the Killadar had conducted himself in a satisfactory manner. Mankaiseer said, that a fort under Loghur had lately fired upon the Peishwa, near Wahy, he asked whether this was to be suffered ?

I told him, certainly not, these were acts of hostility and insult which no Government would bear, and against which the British Government would certainly protect the Peishwa if the facts were as he stated. I observed, however, that it was desirable to come to an arrangement with the Killadar at Loghur, and I asked Mankaiseer whether the Peishwa was willing to allow him to go and reside at Bombay, taking with him his property and the widow of Nana Furnuwees.

Mankaiseer said there was no objection to his taking his property, but that the Peishwa was desirous that the widow of Nana should reside at Poona, that the Peishwa would make any provision for her that the British Goveramemt might think proper, and would allow that Government to be her guarantee, but she must reside in his Highness' Territories.

Extract of a letter to Lieut. Col. Adams, Bombay 27th. March 1804.

Captain Barclay wrote to you yesterday to inform you that I had made an arrangement with the Killadar of Loghur for the delivery of that fort to the British Troops, for the use of His Highness the Peishwa.

The particulars of this arrangement are, that the fort shall be delivered over to the British Troops sent to take possession of it on the 2nd of April, that the Killadar and garrison shall be allowed to carry away their private property not including guns, military stores or grain; that the Killadar shall be taken under the protection of the British Government, that he shall be allowed to take his property and family, and lodge them upon the island of Salsette, and that he shall be hereafter under the British protection and guarantee so long as he shall conduct himself as a friend. Besides the Killadar of Loghur, the widow of the late Nana Furnuwees is in the fort of Loghur, and is provided for under this arrangemeмt. This lady is to reside in the Peishwa's territories, she will, I imagine, choose Poona as her place of residence, but that point is not yet settled.

I have been thus particular in detailing the objects of the arrangements made for obtaining possession of the fort of Loghur, in order that you may more clearly understand the instructions which I am about to give you, in order to carry these objects into execution.

Upon your arrival at Tharly, you will be so kind as to write a letter to the Killadar, with which you will send the enclosed from his Carkoon at this place. You will inform the Killadar that you are the officer appointed to receive charge of the Fort; and that as the 2nd of April quickly approaches it is desirable that he should send you a person with whom you can conduct all the arrangements preparatory to the evacuation of the fort by his garrison.

If he should omit to send you an answer immediately or to depute a person to your camp, you will again write to him, inform him that the time presses, that I have ordered you not to take possession of the fort excepting by force, on any day subsequent to the 2nd of April, without receiving further orders from me.

If he should send a Carkoon to your camp, you will propose all the measures which you may think necessary in order to obtain possession of the Fort on the day stipulated, and you will particularly inform this Carkoon that you have my orders not to take the Fort under the arrangement concluded by Ambajee Punt the Killadar's Carkoon at Bombay on any day excepting the 2nd of April, and that if the cession should be delayed beyond that day it is my intention to attack the Fort, or to insist upon terms in a new arrangment by no means so advantageous to the Killadar as those concluded yesterday.

It is probable that the Carkoon will object to the evacuation on the 2nd of April, that Dhondoo Bullal the Killadar, has no means of moving his baggage,—that the widow of Nana Furnuwees has no tents,—that a house is not provided for her at Poona;

In answer to these excuses you will say, that I have no objection to the Killadar remaining in the fort till a convenient time shall have elapsed to enable him to remove his property, or to the lady remaining till preparations shall have been made for her removal to Poona and her accommodation in that city, but that the garrison, excepting unarmed attendants, must evacuate the fort on the day stipulated, and our Troops must be placed in possession of the gates and other points which will secure to us the Fort.

Let the Carkoon know that it is my anxious wish to conduct this transaction in a manner that will be satisfactory and honorable to Dhondoo Bullal, and to the widow of Nana Furnuwees; but I will not sacrifice essential objects to that work, nor admit of any trifling with engagements solemnly entered into.

If the Carkoon should make any objection to the delivery of the Fort founded on the mutiny of the garrison and their want of pay,

you will absolutely reject such objection, and tell him that Dhondoo Bullal must abide by the consequences of this state of his garrison.

If you should be able to make all arrangements for the peaceable possession of the fort, you will send Major Dallas there with his corps on the 2nd of April to take possession, giving him a caution to beware of treachery on his march through the woods or villages in the neighbourhood, when he shall get possession, I most anxiously recommend him to conciliate Dhondoo Bullal, the lady, and all the inhabitants of the fort, as far as may be in his power, and not to commit any act not immediately necessary for the security of the fort and the Troops, and by no means to consider the Killadar and lady as prisoners.

If you should obtain possession on the 2nd, you will give orders to Major Dallas to comply with the Killadar's requisition for escort to his property down the ghaut to Salsette. He is also to furnish an escort for the lady to Poona, if she shall be prepared to set out; and to act in every respect in conformity to the spirit of the arrangement made with Ambajee Pundit as above explained. Before the Killadar leaves the fort, he must give an order into your hands for the fort of the Imjah, which is likewise to be ceded. This fort is near Wahy on the Kristna.

Extract of a letter to the Governor General, dated Bombay 6th April, 1804.

I had the honor to inform your Excellency in my letter of 7th March, that the Peishwa had called upon me to resent an affront which he received from the Killadar of Kellunjah when he was on a late excursion to the River Kristna at Wahy. The fort of Kellunjah is of no very great strength, I imagine, and belongs to the family and adherents of Nana Furnuwees. The widow of Nana Furnuwees resides at Loghur where the greatest part of Nana's treasure is supposed to be lodged, and the Killadar Dhondoo Bullal is the principal of all Nana's adherents. Soghur is a fort of extraordinary strength, situated immediately on the road between Poona and Bombay and it can command the communication between those two places.

Dhondoo Bullal the Killadar of Loghur, had made a proposal some years ago to Mr. Duncan, that he might be permitted to retire with his property to Bombay, to reside there under the Company's

protection, which proposal having been referred to the Peishwa His Highness refused to consent to it.

It has been renewed at different times and through different channels since that period, but since the conclusion of the peace with Dowlut Row Sindia and the Raja of Berar, Dhondoo Bullal made proposals to Mr. Duncan which indicated a wish to depart from those heretofore made, and which went to his permanent establishment in his fort, and to the adoption of a son by the widow of the late Nana Furnuwees.

Affairs were in this situation when I arrived at Poonah and was pressed by the Peishwa to resent the insult offered to him at Kellunjah. On the other hand I had no reason to be dissatisfied with the conduct of Dhondoo Bullal, during the war he had it in his power to interrupt the communication with Bombay and to do great mischief in that manner, but his conduct was strictly neutral; and in the different letters which I had occasion to write to him I gave him assurances, that so long as he should conduct himself as a faithful servant of the Peishwa, he should not be molested by the British Troops.

The unexpected alteration of the proposals of the Killadar of Loghur created some suspicion in my mind, when I went to Poona to bring him to a decision in respect to his future plans, and to adopt a mode of securing the communication with Bombay, which should not depend entirely on the promises or the forbearance of Dhondoo Bullal. The insult to the Peishwa at Kellunjah, which could not be passed over at all events, held out a fair opportunity of settling everything respecting the important fort of Loghur upon a firm basis. In the conference with the Peishwa's ministers reported to your Excellency in my address of the 7th March, your Excellency will observe that he agreed to the terms which I intended to propose to Dhondoo Bullal; those were, that the Killadar should be allowed to remove with his property to Bombay, that the widow of Nana Furnuwees should reside in the Peishwa's territories where she should think proper, under the protection of the British Government, and that she should enjoy a pension from the Peishwa under the guarantee of the British Government.

It was besides agreed, that the person to be appointed Killedar hereafter by the Peishwa, should be a person trusted by the British Government. According to this arrangement, I informed Dhondoo Bullal that the Peishwa had serious cause to complain of him, that His Highness had been grossly insulted at Kellunjah, that the

British Government would not suffer this insult to pass unnoticed; and that he must either satisfy His Highness on that subject, as well as respecting his conduct in future, or he must surrender his fort; the proposals which he had made to Mr. Duncan some years ago should be accepted, and that he should be permitted to reside at Bombay with all his property, under the protection of the British Government.

At the same time that I sent these proposals I ordered a detachment from the army, consisting of the 78th Regiment and two battalions of Native Infantry, to march towards Loghur under the command of Lt. Col. Adams, with a battering train, and the detachment heretofore at Poona.

A negotiation was commenced shortly after these proposals were made; which after much Mahratta tergiversation, and some insolent and extravagant proposals all tending to delay the final settlement, was concluded by a treaty on the 26th March, of which I have the honor to enclose copies in the English and Mahratta Languages.

According to the terms of this treaty, the fort of Loghur was delivered up to the British troops on the 2d Instant, and Dhondoo Bullal and his property are on their way to Bombay escorted by a British Detachment. The widow of Nana Furnuwees who has chosen Culwah, opposite Tannah in Salsette, as the place of her residence in future, accompanied him.

Upon consultation with Col. Close, it appears most desirable to give the Fort to Khunde Rao Rastia, as he is the only person in the Peishwa's service who possesses certain means of paying the garrison; and as Bassein and other possessions in the Concan are in his hands, all of which are at the mercy of the Government of Bombay, there are ample means of controlling him in the use which he might have it in his power to make of the Fort. But beside these advantages attending the disposal of it, there is every reason to believe that Khunde Rao Rastia is attached to the Peishwa's cause and fully aware of the benefit of His Highness' alliance with the British Government. I have therefore requested Colonel Close to recommend to the Peishwa to give this Fort to Khunde Rao Rastia.

I beg leave to draw your Excellency's attention to the favorable circumstances attending this arrangement, besides the security which it gives to the communication between Bombay and Poona by placing in the hands of a friend a post reported by Lieutenant Colonel

Adams to be of extraordinary strength, the family and adherents of Nana Furnuwees are taken under the protection and guarantee of the British Government, a circumstance highly honorable to the national character.

It is supposed [on what grounds I am unable to say] that the Killedar of Loghur possesses large treasures. The Peishwa and his ministers assert positively and there can be no doubt but that the cause of the former proposal of Dhondoo Bullal to Mr. Duncan, and his motive at present for giving up his fort, arise from a desire to save his property; whatever that property may be, it will add to the resources and capital of this opulent island. In the course of the various revolutions in the Government of Poona, many soucars and others possessing property took refuge at Loghur, where they remained till this time. I know that some, and I believe almost all, of these persons will come to Bombay in the train of Dhondoo Bullal, and will settle here with their property, adding again to the resources of Bombay. This island becomes, by the possession of Loghur by the Peishwa, the only place of security in this part of India for property, and for those who are the objects of the Peishwa's enmity and vengeance; a circumstance equally honorable to the character of the British nation and advantageous to their interests, and affording the strongest proof of the confidence which the natives repose in the justice and wisdom of our policy and our laws. It may happen that the Peishwa will claim some of the persons who may come to Bombay upon this occasion as his subjects, under his treaties with the Honorable Company.

In the course of the conversations which I have had with different natives on the subject of their settling in Bombay, I have apprized them of the nature of the engagements of the British Government with the Peishwa; but I have told them that it was never intended that those engagements should be made the instrument of the Peishwa's vengeance, or deprive those of an asylum, who in a long course of political contests, had, at some time or other, been his opponents, that of course every case would be strictly enquired into, and that no person, who should take refuge on the island of Bombay should be given up, respecting whom it was not proved that he was a decided enemy of the Peishwa. According to this principle I have requested Lieut. Col. Close to inquire particularly into the case of every person demanded by the Peishwa's Government, before he should require him from the Government of Bombay.

Extracts of a letter to Col. Close dated Chouke 18th May, 1804.

I arrived here this morning and shall continue my march to-morrow. I took the opportunity, on my arrival at Panwell, to see Nana's widow, in consequence of the receipt of your letter of the 7th instant which was put into my hands by a person belonging to Byajee Naiq, as soon as I landed. I had a very long conversation with her, at which no person belonging to Dhondoo Bullal was present, she had a Moorish woman as interpreter, and as I heard her give orders to her interpreter in Moorish language, and receive her reports in the same, I must consider the conversation of the first authority. The result of it, in my opinion, is that she will not go to Poona; certainly she cannot be forced to go there contrary to her inclination.

I began by explaining that as I was passing through Panwell I had paid her a visit to ascertain from herself her real wishes and intentions regarding the place of her future residence. I said that I had heard she had wished to go to Poona, and told her that if that was her wish, I would take her there with me, and would see her settled in honor and security. She answered that the Peishwa had expressed a wish that she should go to Poona, but that she could not go there unless her Carkoons were to be in security as to their lives, their persons and their property. I told her that if she meant by her Carkoons, all the the adherents of Nana, I could not converse about them; but if she meant her household servants, I would take a list of them, and would ascertain the Peishwa's intentions respecting them; that she might, in the meantime, set out with me, and that if the Peishwa should not act as she might wish respecting her servants, she should return, and stay where she pleased, or she might send them away, or, in short, she could act as she might think proper.

After some conversation upon this subject, in which she declined to set out with me, she repeated the names of her Carkoons, which are as follows. Junardhun Punt, who had charge of the Janda Khanah in Nana's time; Appajee Punt, who had charge of the lady's own personal affairs; Ball Kischen Bhow, who was Killadar of Loghur thirty years ago, and is now a servant about the house; Nagoo Punt, who had charge of the provisions in Nana's family, and Gungadhur Punt her own brother. After having given this list, she said her pension was not sufficient, and that the Peishwa had sent her word that she should have 25,000 rupees per annum. I

told her that I had a great difficulty in prevailing upon the Peishwa to give her 12,000 rupees for which the Company were the guarantee; but unless the Peishwa should desire me to promise that she should have 25,000 rupees, in which case care would be taken that the money would be forthcoming, I could not guarantee such a payment merely upon her saying that the Peishwa had promised it. I then pointed out to her that, in her situation as a widow 12,000 Rs. must be considered a handsome provision.

There was much conversation upon this subject, and other matters connected with, or provided for, under the treaty, such as her property &c. and at last, I summed up the result of the conversation, and told her that, if I should be able to prevail upon the Peishwa to promise security to the few persons she had mentioned, I expected that she should set out for Poona, and that an escort should be in readiness to attend her. She answered that, besides this, the Killadars of Loghur and Kellunjah, and the son of the former, must be allowed to accompany her, and live with her. I answered that they might go where they pleased, and that so long as they should conduct themselves with propriety, they would be considered under the Company's protection. She then said that her menial servants and their servants also must be secure. I told her, of course.

She then reverted to the increase of her allowance, and said that she should never be secure until she should be permitted to adopt a child; and desired that her brother Pureshram Punt might be released from his confinement in Sevaghur. In answer I said that I could not interfere in these matters, but that the latter request should be mentioned to the Peishwa. Upon the whole I am convinced that she will not come to Poona, but it is as well to prevail on the Peishwa to engage for the security of five persons, at all events; and to promise an increase of pension if she would reside at Poona, then possibly she n ay be prevailed upon to comply.

She is very fair and very handsome, and well deserving to be the object of a treaty. After this conversation I spoke rather sharply to Dhondoo Bullal, and told him that he would forfeit the Company's favor if he should interfere with the Bye, or should thwart her wishes in any manner whatever. She must have overheard what I said.

I have this day written to her to desire that she will not move from Panwell until she shall have heard of the result of my application upon her business to the Peishwa, and I desired her to consider herself in perfect safety at Panwell, and not allow herself to be

frightened. I wrote this because Byajee Naiq's son who was with me at midnight after I had quitted her, told me that endeavours had been made to terrify her.

Extract from a letter to Col. Close, dated Wargaom 21th May, 1804.

Since I wrote to you last, I have received a letter from the widow, in which she desires to have Manowelly, where she says she has a palace. This is true, I believe, she also desires to have her house, stables and garden at Poona, and she wishes to be allowed to keep certain lands and villages for which she has sunnuds from different people. I have desired her to let me have a list of all the lands and villages and of the names of the persons from whom she has the sunnuds, which I will send to you. In the meantime it would be well to speak to the Peishwa about the house in Poona, and the village of Manowelly.

Extract from a letter to Col. Close, dated Punowullah 22d May, 1804.

Upon the subject of the arrangement with Nana's widow, the thing to be done is to obtain security for her Carkoons and possession of her house and gardens at Poona and her Palace at Manowelly. The treaty provides for other essential objects, such as the residence of Dhondoo Bullal with her, the security of her person and property. If the Peishwa chooses to increase her allowance, that is his own affair.

As for Dhondoo Bullal, we have nothing to do with his demands, nor indeed with those of the Lady, excepting in consequence of the Peishwa's desire that she should reside at Poona, for the gratification of which desire he ought to make some sacrifice.

Translations of letters and M.S.S.

Letter from General Wellesley to Joo Bye, widow of the late Nana Furnuwees, dated Bombay, 25th March, 1804.

General Wellesley, invested with full authority in political affairs of the Deccan on the part of the British Government, informs the widow of the late Nana Furnuwees, that according to the proposal made by Dhondoo Bullal, Killedar of Loghur, she will be allowed to reside in any place she may think fit under the Peishwa's Government. He also promises on the part of his Highness the Peishwa, that an annual grant of rupees twelve thousand shall be granted to her under the guarantee of the British Government so long as she shall hold no communication with the enemies of either the Peishwa

or of the British. He promises also that she shall meet with no injury from any one.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY,
Major General.

Letter from Lieut. Col. Close, Resident at Poona, to Joo Bye widow of the late Nana Furnuwees without date.

General Wellesley has forwarded to you by the hands of you brother the agreement made with His Highness the Peishwa concerning your affairs. You therefore are at perfect liberty to return to Poona with Pureshram Punt whenever it suits you. You will meet with no let or hindrance. I hope that this agreement will remove all your doubts.

(Signed) BARRY CLOSE,
Lieut. Colonel.

Copy of the above agreement.

In consequence of the disturbances which have taken place in the Deccan, the widow of Nana Furnuwees had taken refuge in the fort of Loghur, she has since resided at Panwell. The Peishwa being now anxious that she should now return to her house at Poona, the following articles of agreement have been drawn up.

1. The house of the late Nana Furnuwees which stands to the southward of the palace and has been under sequestration by the Peishwa shall be restored to the widow.

2. The following Carkoons in the employment of the late minister shall be allowed to reside with the widow and their safety will be guaranteed by the British Government as long as they join in no conspiracies. Jenardin Appajee Ragoo, Gungadhur Appajee Ragoo.

3. The brother of the widow, who is under restraint shall be set at liberty and shall be allowed to reside in peace and safety in his own house.

4. The widow shall, after deducting the revenue of the Enam lands held by her, receive annually rupees twelve thousand. Should the revenue fall short of this amount, the Government will make up the differenee.

5. The private property of the late Nana Furnuwees which was sequestrated will not be restored, but the widow will be allowed to keep her own property unmolested at Poona.

Letter from Lieut. Col. Close to the widow, dated 1st April, 1804.

I have received a letter from you along with a bag of teel, also another concering your Jagheers. Raghoo Punt Goklay has informed me that some buildings belonging to you at Benares have been taken possession of by Prubhakur Punt, a Carkoon of Annunt Rao. I have therefore addressed the authorities at Benares and requested that the matter may be properly adjusted. Your Wukeel also informs me that you wish to reside at Kallian, but I think you are better off at Panwell and more secure. Should, however, you wish to reside elsewhere you can do so but you will not be so safe. I have spoken to Ragoo Punt on these points which he will duly communicate to you.

Letter from General Wellesley to the widow, dated 2d June, 1804.

I have forwarded to you the agreement entered into by the Peishwa Bajee Rao, and also the replies to the questions put by you to me when I had the pleasure of meeting you at Panwell, which the Peishwa has agreed to. I have obtained the release of your brother Pureshram Gopall, who was a prisoner in Singhur, and he has gone to you with a letter from me which I hope you have received. I have repeatedly requested you to come at once to Poona, as the monsoon is approaching. The Killadars of Kellinja and Loghur are also at liberty to accompany you, and as long as it is agreeable to you and themselves, they can either remain with you or in any other place they may think fit.

From the same to the same.

Previously to my receiving your letter I had written to Lieut. Col. Close to do every thing that may be necessary or that you may require. You had better send a Carkoon to Poona to transact your business, and should he meet with any difficulty Col. Close will be very happy to render him assistance.

Letter from General Wellesley to the same, dated 30th July, 1804.

I have received your letter forwarded through Pureshram Punt, and have made myself acquainted with its contents. Some time since I forwarded to you the agreement entered into with the Peishwa on your behalf, which it seems to me, you do not properly understand. It mentioned that you might reside in Poona with your servants in perfect safety, also that you should receive from the Peishwa an annual allowance of rupees twelve thousand, after deducting the revenue of your Jagheers. Should you dislike remaining at Poona you

are at perfect liberty to chose any other place of residence within the Peishwa's dominons; and the British Government will guarantee your meeting with no hindrance or injury.

I have also written to Col. Close that he should endeavor to make you as comfortable as possible, and see that your allowance is regularly paid. Should you require any other assistance from me, I shall be most happy to do any thing in my power to meet your wishes.

Copy of an agreement enterred into by General Wellesley on the part of the British Government and Dhoondoo Punt Subedar of Loghur bearing date 25th March 1804.

Article 1st.—The forts of Loghur and Kellinjab, with guns and all other warlike equipments shall be delivered over to the English for the use of the Peishwa.

Article 2d.—The Killedar shall be allowed to reside in any place he may choose within the Company's territories, taking with him all his private property, and shall remain there in perfect security so long as he shall enter into no intrigues with the enemies of the English or the Peishwa.

Article 3d.—The widow of the late Nana Furnuwees shall be allowed to reside with her domestic servants in any part of the Peishwa's dominions in perfect safety, and shall receive from the Peishwa an annual allowance for her support, of rupees twelve thousand, for the payment of which the British Government will be guarantee

Article 4th.—Should Dhoondoo Punt wish to reside with the widow, he shall be allowed to do so under the same terms of protection so long as he shall not intrigue with the enemies of the British Government.

Article 5th.—The fort of Loghur shall be delivered up to the party sent to receive charge of it, within eight days from this time. Dhoondoo Punt shall also give an order for the evacuation of Kellinjah at the same time.

This agreement on the part of Dhoondoo Punt has been entered into by a Carkoon named Antojee Punt, who shall remain in Bombay as a hostage for the due performance of the abeve mentioned articles of agreement.

Letter of Nana Furnuwees to his Cousin Moroba, dated Panniput 19th March.

From the contents of my last letter, I hope you have understood that amongst many who were killed in the battle fought at Rong-

poor was Abdul Summud Khan. Kristnajee Joseee Sung Maishwurkur was also killed by a cannon shot.

The Peishwa's army is engaged in erecting batteries, digging entrenchments, and arranging the Ordnance. We have stationed Arabs in every direction, and have taken up our position in such a manner as to have Panniput in our rear and the guns in front. The baggage and followers are also in the rear. The enemies' troops which surround us amount to sixty thousand men with fifty pieces of artillery. There are skirmishes daily; during one of them, a party of the enemy coming nearer to the camp than was prudent were charged by some of Sindia's troops and driven back to their entrenchments with great loss, the enemy having several hundreds killed and wounded. Our loss amounted to about two hundred and fifty, the engagement only ceased at nightfall. Some days subsequently another party of the enemy amounting to about six thousand men made an attack on our army, and a severe struggle took place which lasted till dark. During this engagement Bulwunt Rao Gunput Rao, being severely wounded by a ball, fell from his horse. Upon seeing this, several of the enemy rushed upon him and cut his throat and were about to cut his head off, when a party of our own men, happened fortunately to come up and put them to flight. Bulwunt Rao's remains were carried from the field and burnt, his wife committing Suttee at the same time. After the action fifteen hundred of the enemy were found lying dead in front of our camp; besides these many others were doubtless killed, but I do not know how many. Our loss was comparatively trifling, one hundred and fifty were killed and six or seven hundred wounded. Although the Peishwa's troops fought very bravely still the enemy claimed the victory owing to Bulwunt Rao's unfortunate death on our side.—

Govind Bulhar had been previously ordered to proceed to Delhi with a view to intercept Abdallee on his march to the capital. Within one stage of Delhi he was joined by the troops of Naroo Sunkur, and while he was making his arrangements of intercepting Abdallee, he was suddenly attacked by him with a party of ten thousand chosen troops and totally defeated. Govind Bulhar himself was slain and his head sent to His Highness; four hundred of his men were slain and his son Ballajee Govind sought refuge with Naroo Sunkur in Delhi.

The enemy are so treacherous that we are obliged to be constantly on the alert, and have dug entrenchments all round our army be-

sides stationing Arabs on each side. We have been fighting a long time. Although there is great scarcity in both money and grain, still we intend to persevere, in the hope of being yet victorious we shall do our best and the result is in the hands of God.

I have written to you many times but as yet have received no reply. I beg you will inform His Highness of all I have written to you and also beg His Highness to settle Mahadjee Punt Coontee's affairs, he is the Furnuwees at Phullmurree and is constantly speaking to me about it, otherwise I should not have mentioned it.

Translation of a letter from Nana Furnuwees to his father, dated Gwalior 4th of the month Shaban.

I have received your letter in which you tell me to write to you whenever there shall be any thing of consequence to relate, and as you have doubtless heard all kinds of strange reports, I hasten to give you the true account of the battle of Panniput.

On the 8th January an engagement took place between our forces and the Affghans, in which his Highness Wiswas Rao was killed by a shot. The battle had lasted about three hours, when upon Wiswas Rao's death being known, our force began to give way. I remained with Bhow Saheb and have not seen him since; nor do I know any thing concerning him. The panic was so great that nobody cared for his neighbour but only thought of his own safety. I also missed my mother. I sent many persons in search of her and one them on his return informed me that my mother had caused one of her servants to kill her from dread of falling into the hands of the enemy.

As soon as I can get hold of the perpetrator of this act, I shall hear all the particulars. On the dispersion of the army, some of the troops fled to Marwar, others to Jynuggur, Jumboor, and others across the Bagurtittee. I have never heard of such a great calamity as this which has now fallen upon us. During my own flight I fell in with several parties of Ghilgees, but by the blessing of God was saved. My wife who was also in a very miserable plight was taken care of by Nersing Rao. Parbuttee also was saved by her servants. The following are the men who have escaped with me viz. Puraneen, Govind Bhut Opadia, Appajee Goudraikur, Gungadhur, Babbajee, Dhoondoo Punt Salaikur, Ramchunder Punt Nathoo, Cundoo Punt Oomedwar, Pandurung Punt Badaikur, Krishna Bhut Bailasenkur.

The following are missing; Luximon Bulhar, Ramjee Annund

Daboolkur, Bappoojee Bulhar Phurkay, Bappoojee Bulhar Josee, Hurree Punt Kailkur, Ramchunder Punt Agasee, Ballajee Punt Carkoon, Atolee Cassee Punt, Narroo Punt Daivaikur, Shreedhur Punt Ganaikur. Besides these, forty thousand men were killed, and out of sixty thousand horse six thousand only remained unhurt. Hurry Sewaram, Narrain Rao, Bappoojee and Bajee Hurree both father and son were killed, Antajee Mankaiseer Bowaney Shunkur, Shah, Mawaj Khan Junkojee Sindia, Sonjee Bhankur Jookajee Sindia, Manajee Pygoorai, Govind Rao Zadow, Eshwunt Rao Powar, and the son of Krishnajee Annund are all missing also. The whole of our ordnance and all our equipments are lost. I did not save a single article of clothing even. The army is completely destroyed. I have already communicated this intelligence to you by a special messenger, but as I am in doubt as to your having received it, I now write again. I have written to you many times but have not received a single reply. Dada Saheb sent to me two horses and two suits of clothes, and it is now my intention to retire to Joka and pass the remainder of my life in the performance of religious duties, provided that I can obtain permission from the Peishwa.

P. S. Besides all that I have written above, there are a few more particulars worthy of mention. Naroo Shunkur who had remained in Delhi with seven or eight thousand men on hearing of our defeat at Panniput, immediately fled with his army, leaving in his flight five lacs of rupees belonging to the Government, and five or six lacs belonging to Sindia and some merchants which had been deposited for safety in the imperial Treasury. As the fort of Delhi was provisioned and armed sufficiently for three or four months they might have remained there in perfect safety, as the Ghilgees had not followed them, and the rest of the army would have found there a secure rallying point.

Seven days after the flight of Naroo Shunkur, Abdallee marched into and took possession of Delhi and immediately commenced securing the tranquility of the city, which he effected. Sooruj Mull and Mahdoojung's envoys joined him there with a view to arrange a final peace and allow Abdallee to withdraw his victorious army to his own country, which he was very anxious to do. This eventually was carried into effect.

From the same to the same, dated 8th June 1804.

I have received your two letters and *eeyad* bearing date the 22d

Suffer, from which it appears you doubt my having received your former letters; I therefore send you copies of all the correspondence which has taken place between us up to this date, and I hope it will remove your doubts. On the very same day that I received your letters I wrote to you a letter enclosing the agreement made concerning you with the Peishwa, and despatched it by your brother who has gone to join you.

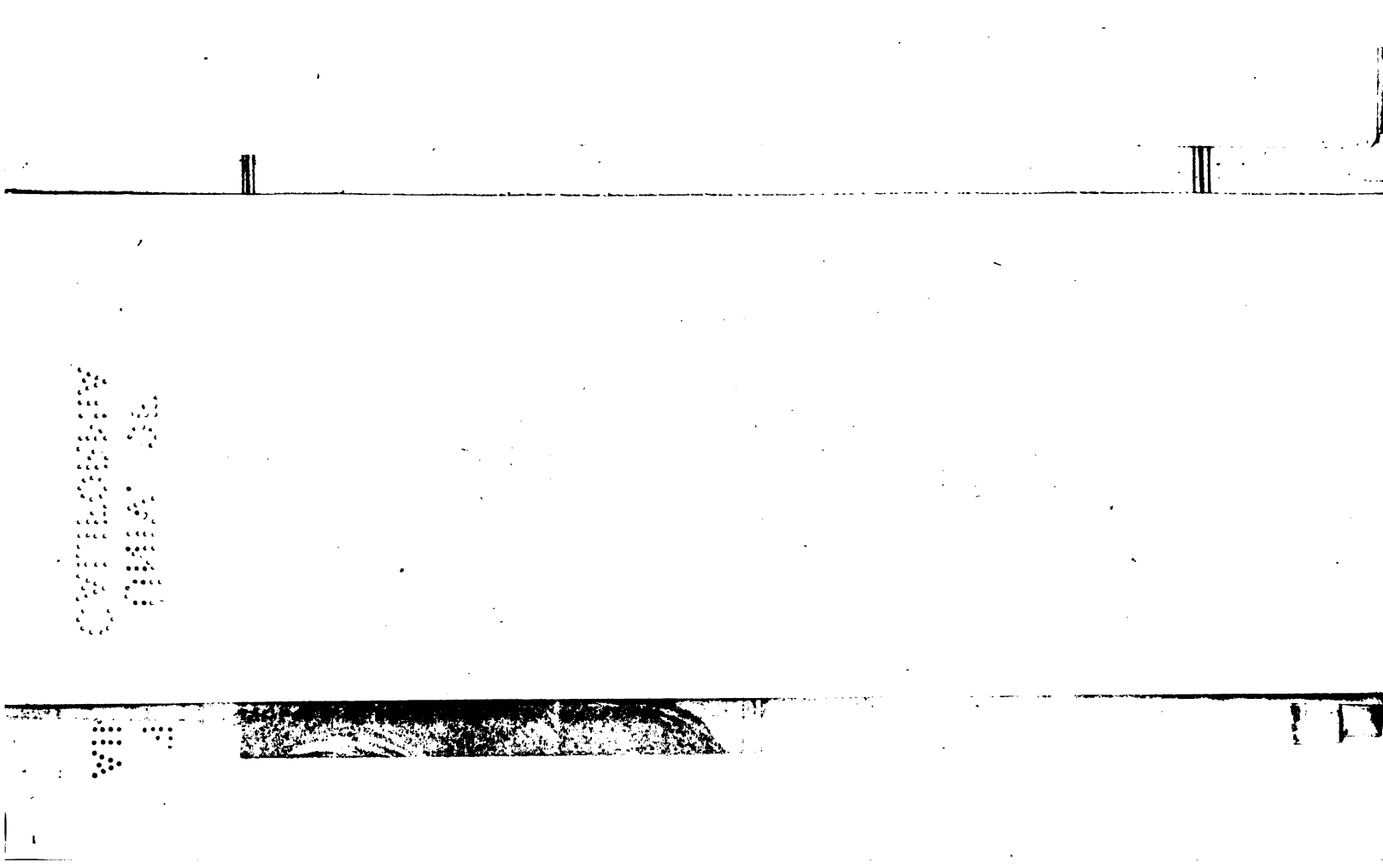
Regarding the fort of Kellinja, the Peishwa had already disposed of it. You have written a long letter regarding the Enam lands, and that your means are inadequate. I will take these points into consideration and inform you of the result hereafter.

FINIS.

Sevaji.

शिवाजी महाराज

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA



THIS BOOK IS DUE ON THE LAST DATE
STAMPED BELOW

AN INITIAL FINE OF 25 CENTS
WILL BE ASSESSED FOR FAILURE TO RETURN
THIS BOOK ON THE DATE DUE. THE PENALTY
WILL INCREASE TO 50 CENTS ON THE FOURTH
DAY AND TO $1.00 ON THE SEVENTH DAY
OVERDUE.

SEP 29 1932

LD 21–50*m*-8,·32

YC 41160

mla

512735

DS470
N3M3

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY